



1934

The Huguenot Settlements in Florida, 1562-1565

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Recommended Citation

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THE
HUGUENOT SETTLEMENTS IN FLORIDA.

1562 - 1565

Thomas Edward Downey.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in History in Loyola University.

1934.

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VITA.

Thomas Edward Joseph Downey, born February 6th, 1910, at Chicago, Illinois. Entered Saint Ignatius Grammar School in September, 1916; was graduated in June, 1924; entered Loyola Academy, Chicago, Illinois, in September, 1924, and was graduated in June, 1928; entered Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, in September, 1928, was graduated in June, 1932, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the major field being History, the minor being Spanish; entered Loyola University Graduate School in September, 1932, and pursued a course of studies leading to the degree of Master of Arts in History.

The choice of the thesis subject, "The Huguenot Settlements in Florida, 1562-1565", was made after the consideration of several suggestions offered by the Reverend Samuel Knox Wilson, the said candidate's adviser. The reason for the candidate's purusal of graduate studies toward the degree of Master of Arts in History is for the purpose of preparing himself for the teaching profession in the field of History.

INTRODUCTION
TO
THEESIS ON
THE HUGUENOT SETTLEMENTS
IN
FLORIDA 1562-1565.

There are many dark spots in the byways of American history which the student rarely has the opportunity to explore. They may not be of first rank importance in the general stream of history, but they show, nevertheless, certain things which may be easily lost in the broader narratives which recount the whole story of a people. They portray to us, do these small incidents, some of the workings of human ambition, greed and rivalry which give us a faint concept of the great struggle that was incident upon the colonizing and the making of America.

The Huguenot colonies in Florida from 1562 to 1565 are just such a series of incidents, small, usually neglected and seemingly unimportant. But yet through these settlements, the Spaniards have received an undue amount of opprobrium for their ruthlessness in wiping them out, while the Huguenots have been considered somewhat as martyrs for having suffered at Spanish hands. This is, at least, the popular historical view of the subject...

In this paper, however, we wish to delve more deeply into the subject of the Huguenot colonization in Florida. It is our intention to determine several things; first, to whom did Florida actually belong by

right of discovery, exploration and colonization; secondly, what right had the Huguenots there, and, finally, were the Spaniards justified in their treatment of the Huguenot colonists. If we are able to answer these questions satisfactorily, we shall, we hope, throw some light upon a long disputed point of American history.

For proper treatment of the subject we have divided the paper into six chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter is to deal with the background of the peninsula of Florida; its description, tribes, and, most important of all, the various Spanish exploration made from 1513 until 1562. In the second chapter we shall consider the first Huguenot settlement at Port Royal in 1562, and its eventual failure. Following this, we shall devote the third chapter to a discussion of the second French colony on the River May, from 1564 to 1565. Chapter four will embrace the Spanish colonial plans and the voyage of Menendez to Florida, with his founding of the settlement of St. Augustine. In chapter five we shall portray the extermination by the Spaniards of the French settlers at Fort Caroline on the River May. In chapter six we shall recount the French revenge of DeGourgues in 1567. Following these chapters we shall endeavor to give our own personal estimate of the culpability of both parties and of the rights of one over those of another, basing these conclusions, of course, upon the facts as we have ascertained them from our research upon the subject. Throughout the whole work we shall endeavor to be as fair and as objective as it is possible to be with the materials at our disposal.

We wish here to express our sincere appreciation to Mr. Robert Ranson, of St. Augustine, Florida, author of "Ranson's Chronological His-

tory of Florida", for the use of his manuscript covering the period of the Huguenot colonizations and the founding of St. Augustine, without which the difficulties in the compilation of this paper would have been far greater than they were.

CHAPTER I.

THE SETTING.

1513-1562

Description of Florida in 16th Century. Florida, to the modern American, is a land of palm lined drives, beautiful tropical homes and perfume scented breezes.

But, if we turn back the scenes four hundred years, a vastly different picture is presented to us. To say that the Florida of those days was a wilderness, peopled by savage men and fierce beasts, is merely to give the faintest of impressions as to its actual state. First of all let us make ourselves clear as to what was actually meant by the term "Florida" in the lexicon of the sixteenth century man. To navigators and explorers of that period, the term "Florida", bestowed by Ponce de Leon in 1513, meant not only the peninsula, to which the name is restricted today, but also the vast continent to the north and northwest, with an indefinite extension. It really included the whole of the practically unexplored North American continent. Thus the Florida which we know was only a small part of the land which bore that appellation in the days of the conquistadores. However, it is our intention to use the term Florida in this paper as it is used by modern geographers to denote the peninsula on the southeastern extremity of the North American continent, bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the Florida Strait, on the west by the Gulf of Mexico, and on the north by the states of Alabama and Georgia. By adopting this modern definition of Florida, we are able to exclude all extraneous voyages and explorations and focus our attention upon the peninsula where

the events about which we are concerned actually took place.

According to early explorers Florida of the sixteenth century appeared as a flat, marshy country, traversed by many rivers and consequently very humid, with wide sandy beaches along the coast line, and thick luxuriant growths of palms, cedars and laurels throughout the interior. (1)

In these thick semi-tropical jungles lived a variety of wild beasts, according to the French Huguenot account just cited. In the words of Laudonnière "the animals best known in the land are deer, hinds, kids, does, bears, leopards, lynx, ounces (2), divers kinds of wolves, savage dogs, hares, turkey hens, partridges, parrots, pigeons, ringdoves, turtle-doves, blackbirds, rooks, tercelts, hawks, lanners, herons, cranes, storks, wild geese, ducks, cormorants, white, red, black and gray egrets and an infinite variety of game." This did not include a large variety of snakes as well as alligators. (3)

The Tribes The natives of this strange land were similar to those found in various other parts of the North American Continent. Their skin was copper colored, they were fond of painting themselves in bright hues (4); the men clothed themselves in breech cloths while the women wore skirts and short garments woven of Spanish moss.

(1) Laudonnière, R.G., "L'Histoire Notable de la Floride" Bassanier Edition, Paris, P. Jannet, 1853. p.2.

(2) Ounces, catlike creatures allied to the leopard, but with less spots and a thicker fur.

(3) See Appendix I.

(4) Laudonnière, R.R., "L.Histoire Notable de la Floride," Bassanier Edition, p. 6.

Throughout the greater part of the sixteenth century the peninsula of Florida was divided up into a number of tribal territories. In the south we find the peninsula shared by two independent provinces, Tegesta on the Atlantic coast and Calos, or Callos, on the Gulf coast. These latter people were more popularly known as the Caloosas. (1) Their territory extended from Tampa Bay, where the village of their chief was located, to the southern extremity on the Gulf coast. It included fifty villages of thirty or forty inhabitants each. (2) On the east coast the Tegestas comprised a string of villages from Cape Canaveral to the Southern Keys. The northern part of the territory of the Tegestas was known as Ais and called by the Spaniards Santa Lucia. The residence of the chief was near Cape Canaveral. (3)

Throughout the central and northern portion we find a variety of tribal divisions. First there is the Paracoxi Confederacy. This group of tribes, all under one chief, was situated north of the Province of Carlos and in and about the country from the Hillsboro River probably to the Withlacooche, and then eastward to the Ocklawaha. These people were great fighters and carried on a desultory warfare with the Caloosas. (4)

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1. Brinton, D.G. "Notes on the Florida Peninsula," Philadelphia, J. Sabin & Co., 1859, p.112.
 2. Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, "The Country and Ancient Indian Tribes of Florida," in Shipp, Barnard, "The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida," Philadelphia, Collins, printer, 1881, p.585.
 3. Brinton, p.116.
 4. Ibid. p.117-118.

To the north of the territory of the Paracoxi Confederacy was the Land of Vitachuco. It was so named after its chief who is mentioned in the narratives of La Vega. (1) and the Gentleman of Elvas.(2) It seems that he ruled over the pineclad highlands which today comprise Marion and Alachua counties. This was probably the most densely populated region of the country, and its inhabitants were perhaps more highly civilized. (3) To the east of this land lay the territory of Outina which comprised the rich hammocks bordering the upper St. Johns River and the flat pinewoods on either side as far to the south as Cape Canavarel. Outina was the name of the chief in control of this territory at the time the white man first came. There are various forms of his name in use; the Spanish called him Utina, while the French named him Olata Ouas Outina, which according to Brinton was his full name. (4) Further to the northeast of the land of Outina and centering about the mouth of the St. Johns was the territory of Saturiona which also claimed tribute from the peoples living as far north as the Savanna River. This territory, like that of Outina, was named after its chief who was one of the most powerful in all Florida. Saturiona, as we shall see later, was the steadfast friend of the French and the implacable foe of the Spanish. (5) One of the main differences between these Florida

1. Garcilasso Inca de la Vega's, "History of the Conquest of Florida," in Shipp, pp. 283-299.
2. In the Elvas Narrative, p.41 (Newberry Ayer Collection Copy) the only name to appear for this spot is Napetaca.
3. Brinton, p.119.
4. Ibid., p.119.
5. Ibid., p.120.

tribes and those living further north was the fact that, unlike most of the northern tribes in which the headship was elective, among the Floridans it was fixed by custom that the children of the first wife inherited the power and possessions of their father. (1)

This was the land of Florida as the early European explorers first beheld it. To them it was for the most part a disappointment, for they searched for gold or eternal youth, or for another rich civilization like that of Mexico or Peru, in all of which quests they met with nothing but annoyance from savages, wild beasts, trackless jungles and bottomless marshes. Their men, in their eagerness for riches and material prosperity, died of starvation in the midst of tropical plenty, or succumbed to the fevers of the jungles, tormented until death by the all too vivid realization of their frustrated hopes.

Expeditions The first of these European adventurers of whom we have
of
Ponce de Leon. record to prove his exploration of Florida was Juan Ponce
First
Expedition de Leon. This gentleman was of Castillian lineage, and
1513.
 had already distinguished himself in various capacities in the West Indies. As governor of Puerto Rico from about the year 1508 until 1513, Ponce had faced several very serious uprisings of the exploited and enslaved natives.

1. Brinton, pp.120-121

See tribal map at the end of chapter 1.

Finally, after several years of trouble in which he distinguished himself for bravery and in which the Indian uprising was quelled with the ruthlessness characteristic of the time and the place, (1) de Leon resigned the command of this, at least to him, worthless island when the chance presented itself of carving out a fortune in a new land. (2) The opening he sought was due to the stimulation of his imagination through the stories of old Indians who informed him of a country known as Bimini, far to the north, which abounded in gold and all manner of delights. But the greatest of all these delights was a fountain of such wonderful virtue that whosoever bathed in it would be restored to health and youth. Ponce listened to these tales with fond credulity, and so fully was he persuaded of the existence of this land of happiness and this river of life that he decided to fit out three ships at his own expense to sail in search of them. He found no difficulty in recruiting adventurers willing to go with him into the unknown and find that which mankind had longed for through the ages; the blessings of restored health and youth.

Early in the morning of March 3rd, 1513, Ponce sailed with three ships from the port of St. Germain on the Island of Puerto Rico. For a while he kept to the coast line of Hispaniola, but eventually made for the

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1. Brown, G.M., "Ponce de Leon Land and Florida War Record," Edition 6, St. Augustine, Fla., 1908, pp. 4-9.
 - Shea, John G., "Ancient Florida" in Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," Boston and New York, 1884-1889, Vol. 2 (1886) pp. 232-233.
 2. Shipp, "DeSoto and Florida," p. 77.

Los Cayos Islands, now the Bahamas. He visited one island after another in this archipelago until on May 14th he arrived at Guanahani or San Salvador, the place where Columbus had first set foot on the shores of the New World, October 12th, 1492. (1) Here he repaired his vessels and made for the northwest, without, however, having received any definite clues from the natives as to the whereabouts of the Fountain of Youth.

Finally, on Sunday, March 27th, de Leon came in sight of the Florida coast. It seemed to be a more extensive range of land than anything he had ever seen in these regions. It was covered with luxuriant tropical growth. Since he had discovered it on Easter, (2) he named the land Pascua Florida (Flowery Easter). He continued along the coast until April 2nd, when he dropped anchor at 30 degrees 8' north latitude. (3) The land, on closer inspection, proved to be in the fresh bloom of spring, the trees were covered with blossoms and the fields were resplendent with flowers. Ponce landed at this place (4) and took possession of the

1. Shipp, p.78.
2. Shipp, on page 78, maintains that de Leon discovered Florida on Palm Sunday, which he translates as Pascua Florida. Now, Pascua, in Spanish, means Easter, as does its equivalent in Latin, Pascha, and in French Paques. For Palm Sunday the Spanish employ the phrase Domingo de Ramos (i.e. Sunday of Branches). Thus to say that de Leon discovered Florida on Palm Sunday is belied by the literal translation of the phrase itself, Pascua Florida, which is Flowery Easter. Furthermore, according to Peschel in his "Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen" cited in Shea's "Ancient Florida," page 284, the date of March 27th, 1513, was actually Easter Sunday in that year.
3. This would be a short distance from the mouth of the St. John's River.
4. According to Shipp, as well as to the actual latitude recorded, the spot was somewhere near the mouth of the St. John's. However, on the grounds of the Fountain of Youth at St. Augustine there is shown an old cross laid in the earth, composed of fifteen stones placed in one direction and thirteen set in the opposite direction, which is supposed to denote the year 1513, during which de Leon landed. The laying of these stones is ascribed to the explorer, and this spot is taken as the one at which he landed in lieu of any spot closer to the St. Johns - observed by the author on September 1, 1933.

territory in the name of the king. (1) After the ceremony of taking possession was completed, he sailed along the coast to the south and turned northward along the west coast. All this time he believed the new land to be an island. He is thought to have gone as far north as the Bay of Tampa which in early maps is called the Bay of Ponce de Leon. (2) Whenever his party wished to land, they encountered fierce hostility from the savages, some of his men were sorely wounded, and, since he had not found either the fountain of youth or any gold deposits, he set sail for Puerto Rico on June 14th. In the latter part of 1513 de Leon returned to Spain where he gave an account of his voyage to King Ferdinand. (3)

The king, evidently pleased at what he had done, gave him a title to the land and permission to recruit men either in Spain or in the colonies for a settlement in Florida. (4) He did not act upon his command at once, but waited for seven years before he essayed another expedition. A subsequent expedition was a necessity, as in the first trip de Leon had noted the commercial importance of the Bahama channel to protect which Florida must be settled.

1. Fairbanks, G.R., "The Spaniards in Florida," Jacksonville, C. Drew, 1868, pp. Bolton, H.E., "Spanish Borderlands," p.8. 11-12.
Shea in Winsor, Vol.ii, p.233.
2. Shipp, p.78 Note.
3. Ibid., p.79
4. Shea in Winsor, Vol.ii, p.234, says "He was empowered to settle the Island Bimini and the Island Florida."

Second Expedition of Ponce de Leon 1521. In the intervening time between his first and his second expedition, Ponce had heard that Florida was part of the main land, and his desire to substantiate this rumor spurred on his preparations. He had, however, to defer his departure for, having been again made governor of Puerto Rico, he was forced to devote all his attention to the curbing of a Carib invasion of the island which threatened Spanish power and supremacy. These barbarian incursions eventually being repulsed, de Leon made ready in 1521 to go again to Florida. In that year he set out with two ships which cost him almost his whole fortune. (1) When he arrived upon the coast and landed, he met with exceptionally hostile resistance from the Indians. (2) In a battle that followed several Spaniards were slain and Ponce himself was wounded. He was carried on board ship, set sail for Cuba, and there died shortly after. (3)

Minor Expeditions 1516-1524. When we review the various expeditions to Florida with an effort to establish the claims of any one country to that land, we find that in the case of the Spanish expedition there are two classes, the major and the minor. The major expeditions may be said to be those of Ponce de Leon, first in 1513, the second in 1521, which we have just recounted, that of Navarez in 1528-1529, that of Hernando de Soto in 1539. In regard to the minor expeditions, we must divide them

1. See Appendix II.
2. See Winsor, Vol. ii, p. 236.
3. Shipp, p. 80.

into two sections; the first embracing those voyages which touched on the Florida coast from 1516 to 1524, and the second group comprising those expeditions which were directed towards Florida from 1546 until 1562, which is the date of the first French Huguenot settlement.

Diego Miruelo Of the minor expeditions from 1516 to 1524, the first which comes to our notice is that of Diego Miruelo. Miruelo was a pilot who sailed from Cuba on a trading cruise. From what we are able to find concerning him, it would seem that he ran up the western shore of the Florida peninsula, discovering in his voyage what was supposed to have been Pensacola Bay. Here he traded glass and steel trinkets for silver and gold after which he returned to Cuba. (1)

De Cordova The next to try his luck in this little known land of Florida was Francisco Hernandez de Cordova. He left Cuba on the 8th of February, 1517, with two ships and a brigantine, and with the avowed purpose of capturing on the Lucayos Islands a cargo of Indians to sell as slaves. But a storm intervened, driving them off their course onto the Yucatan coast. Upon their attempt to return to Cuba, they were forced away from their course, this time by a contrary gale, which blew them to the coast of Florida. The pilot, Alaminos, who had been with Ponce de Leon, dropped anchor in a bay that he recognized. The Spaniards landed to replenish their water supply, and while so engaged, were attacked by the Indians.

They gave battle, killing twenty-four of the natives, while six of their own number sustained wounds from the land skirmishing, and four others in the boat were also wounded, among them being the pilot, Alaminos. Finally the party reached Cuba, where Hernandez de Cordova died of his wounds. (1)

De Garay The priors of the order of St. Jerome were in the year 1519
1519.
the governors of the Indies. To them from Francisco de Garay applied for a patent to explore and settle Terra Florida. He received the desired grant, and in 1519 dispatched four caravels, equipped with a large number of men, the purpose of whose sailing was to discover a possible strait in the mainland. The pilot, de Pineda, was unable to turn the Florida Cape as he had wished, so he was forced to sail along the west coast of the peninsula and the south coast of the Gulf of Mexico until he came to the River Panuco, which, it is said, owes its name to him. Near here they met Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico, for the Rio Panuco is in Mexican territory. They sailed back to the east again along this coast line and crossed what was possibly the Mississippi River. They even ran up the river six leagues, and counted forty Indian hamlets on the two banks. This voyage proved that Florida was no longer to be regarded as an Island, but as a part of a vast continent, it also proved that there was no strait by which ships could ever hope to reach India. That part of Florida discovered by de Garay received the name of Amichel. In 1521 his patent to settle and conquer the new land was confirmed. (2)

1. Shea in Winsor, Vol. ii, pp.236-237.

2. Ibid., p.237.

De Camargo Diego de Camargo did not sail on an independent expedition;
1520
 he was in the pay of de Garay, who sent him with four caravels to occupy a post near the Rio Panuco. This expedition was poorly handled, soon the members got into a quarrel with Cortez, and were eventually forced to send to Vera Cruz for supplies. (1)

Grijalva Finally Garay became disgusted with the stupidity of his
and
de Garay hireling, de Camargo, and decided in the year 1523 to conquer
1523
 and settle Amichel himself. Accordingly in the end of June he left Jamaica with Juan de Grijalva, the discoverer of Yucatan, as his lieutenant. He was well equipped. He boasted a force of thirteen vessels with one hundred and six cavalry and eight hundred and forty infantry and a supply of field pieces. He did not land on the Florida peninsula, but instead touched the coast at Rio de las Palmas on the Mexican shore. Due to the harsh nature of the country, his troops urged him to proceed to the south; they finally landed at the Rio Panuco. He lost four of his vessels on the coast and one in the port, and was eventually forced to surrender to Cortez. De Garay died in Mexico, and with his death the province of Amichel passed out of existence. (2)

De Ayllon A thirst for adventure had obtained complete mastery of the
1521-1526.
 Spaniards of those days; the next man to feel the urge to explore the vast unknown denominated as Florida was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. He was an audit-

1. Shea in Winsor, p.238.

2. Ibid.

or of the Island of Santo Domingo, Possessed with a desire to discover and settle some new land, he fitted out a caravel under the command of Francisco Gordillo who was directed to sail northward through the Bahamas and then head for the shore of the continent. They met another caravel fitted out by Quexos who was on a slave hunting expedition. The two vessels proceeded to the north for about nine days and came to the mouth of a large river which they called the St. John the Baptist, the latitude was about 33 degrees 30'. They proceeded to take formal possession of the land, and after gaining the good will of the natives, they captured seventy of them, bringing them back to Santo Domingo to be sold as slaves.

But upon their return, Ayllon condemned this act of Gordillo, the Indians were declared free, and it was ordered that they be returned to their own land. A few years later, in 1523 to be exact, Ayllon received a royal "cedula" or patent giving him permission to explore and colonize this new land exclusively. In accord with the patent, Ayllon, in 1525, sent Pedro de Quexos to the new land with two caravels, they took possession of the country, and brought back a few Indians to Santo Domingo to be trained as interpreters.

The following June, i.e. 1526, de Ayllon determined himself to make a settlement in Florida. Accordingly he sailed from Santo Domingo with three large vessels, well stocked with provisions and carrying missionaries on board, also having as passengers six hundred persons of both sexes. They proceeded far to the north along the coast, and settled at a place which they named Guandape, near the site of what was to be in another

century the English settlement of Jamestown in Virginia. One trouble followed another and finally Ayllon died of fever on St. Luke's day, October 18th, 1526.

His nephew, Juan Ramirez, was made his successor, but as he was in Puerto Rico, the temporary administration was given to Francisco Gomez. Civil discord followed, which was supplemented by uprisings and murmurings among the negro slaves. Finally, in despair, the colonists returned to Santo Domingo numbering only one hundred and fifty out of the six hundred who had left on the expedition. (1)

Esteban Gomez 1524. It is necessary to break the strict chronological order here in order to consider the expedition of Esteban Gomez which occurred at the same period as that of de Allyn. Gomez was ordered by King Charles V to make an exploration of the coast of New Foundland and Labrador with the purpose of finding a strait or channel north of Florida by which vessels might reach the Moluccas. He examined the Labrador coast as directed, and then sailed to the south, naming in his own way all the bays and harbors from Cape Race to Florida. The importance of this expedition lies solely in the fact that the Spanish claimed the coast line along which Gomez had voyaged. (2)

Expedition of Verazzani 1524. The French were also aroused to the possibilities of this new continent, and the rivalry between Francis I of France and Charles V of Spain found an outlet in a daring French expedition along

1. Shea in Winsor, Vol. ii, pp. 239-241.

2. Ibid., p. 241.

the North American coast in 1524. The French engaged as the captain of this enterprise one Verazzani, a Florentine, who had been engaged in previous successful cruises against the Spaniards. (1)

Verazzani set out from an island or rock near Maderia called the Desertas. After enduring many perils and hardships, he sighted a coast which he claims was never seen either by the ancients or the moderns. (2) They coasted along towards the south searching for a harbor, but finding none, they decided to continue to the north. At each place where they landed the natives seemed friendly. Verazzani describes them and their customs at great length, but it is not our purpose to consider these details. (3) The explorers continued northward until they had made their way to what appears, from their descriptions, to have been New York harbor. (4) They then coasted along what is now the coastline of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and Newfoundland. Here they took in wood and water and returned to France. After this Verazzani's adventures do not concern us. (5)

To us the value of Verazzani's voyage lies in this, that it gave the later French, such as Ribaut and Laudonnière, some pretext towards settlement and colonization of the Atlantic coast, which fact must not be lost

1. Shipp, "De Soto and Florida," p.81.

2. Ibid., p.82.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. p.86.

5. Ibid. pp.87-90.

Hakluyt Collection "Divers Voyages" (Ayer Collection in Newberry) A -B 4

sight of in our consideration of other conflicting Spanish claims.

Expedition of Navarez 1528-1529 Pamfilo Navarez was the next Spaniard of whose expedition to Florida we have any record. He had been in Mexico where Cortez had imprisoned him, there he remained in the "carcel" of Vera Cruz until the end of 1523. He then proceeded to Cuba to settle his estates and then to Spain where he obtained from Charles V full power to conquer all the territory from the Rio de las Palmas (now the Santander) to the Cape of Florida. (1)

For this purpose he set out from San Lucar de Barrameda on June 17, 1527, with a fleet of five vessels containing six hundred men, not including the friars and priests. At Santo Domingo, where the fleet stopped for provisions, more than one hundred and forty men abandoned it, the rest went on to Santiago de Cuba where Navarez obtained men to replace the deserters. (2)

Here they encountered some difficulties. A hurricane swept away some of their vessels at Trinidad, and they had to remain in that port until the replacements were made. Then they set out for the coast of Florida with five vessels one of which was a brigantine. On the 11th or 12th

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- 1 Shipp, p.93.
Shea in Winsor v.ii p.242.
"Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de las Indias"
Madrid, 1864-1884, v.xii, p.86
Bafcia, "Historiadores de las Indias" - Madrid, N.R.Franco, 1723,
v.i, p.1 of Cabeza de Vaca(manuscript).
 - 2 Shipp, p.93.
Shea in Winsor, v. ii p.242.
Barcia, vol.i p.i.

of April the fleet anchored at the entrance of a bay on which was an Indian village. Here Navarez planted the Spanish standard and took possession of the country in the name of the king. The next day the Indians visited him and manifested by signs their desire to see him leave, but Navarez paid little heed to their demands. He, accompanied by Alvaro Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, went into the interior where they spent the night at a very large bay. A few days later they penetrated again into the interior. In the meantime they had sent Miruelo, the pilot, to reach a particular port, the location of which he maintained he knew, or else to go to Havana and get a vessel loaded with provisions. (1)

After traveling through the interior and visiting the Indian villages, they returned to the vessels on April 30th. But Miruelo, the pilot, had great difficulty in guiding the ships to a harbor, as the place he had expected to find was not located in the latitude in which he believed it to be. It was then decided that the troops would go along on land while the ships would follow along the shore. At this time the Spaniards were in search of the territory of Apalache which they were told contained rich gold mines. After sojourning among the Indians of this northeast section of the Gulf coast, they decided to sail towards the west

1. Shipp, "De Soto and Florida," p. 85.

Shay in Winsor, V. ii, p. 243.

p. 56

Smith, Buckingham, "Relation of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca," Washington, 1851, Barcia, V. i, p. 3.

in boats of their own construction. (1)

By the time they were ready to embark the Spaniards were so hungry that they were forced to kill their own horses and eat their flesh. After cruizing to the west in these improvised boats and meeting untold hardships at the hands of the various tribes they encountered, the barks were separated in a storm, that of Navarez being lost. This accident might have occurred in Pensacola Bay (2) or possibly near the mouth of the Mississippi.(3) At any rate, the loss of Navarez separated the expedition, leaving Alvaro Nunez Cabeza de Vaca to wander for the next seven years over the continent, on which journey he was forced to endure untold hardships, his men even being forced to eat each other to prevent starvation. (4)

Expedition of De Soto 1539. Scarcely had Cabeza de Vaca returned to Spain and published his remarkable travels than a wave of adventurous enthusiasm swept the whole nation. Here indeed was a continent larger than all Europe, abounding in all sorts of natural resources to be had for the taking. It is no wonder that under such circumstances men of every degree became eager to join any expedition bound for the new world.

Under such circumstances an adventurer who had seen the glories

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1. Shipp, pp.97-99.
 2. Ranson, "Chronological History of Florida."
 3. Shipp, p.101, in describing the place, says: "In the evening a point of land was seen, and on the other side of it a very large river." This river might be taken for the Mississippi, although the Perdido River, which flows into the Gulf of Pensacola, appears rather large at its mouth --note by author.
 4. Shay in Winsor, vol. ii, p.243-244;
Barcia pp.6-69 of Manuscript of Cabeza de Vaca.

of Peru with the expedition of Pizarro began to dream of carving out an empire for himself in this new land, for after all there might be cities there which rivaled those of Peru which had fallen to the might of Spain. This adventurer was by name Hernando de Soto. Fired by this new dream of easily acquired wealth and greatness Soto soon obtained, thanks to his record of service to the crown, the permission to conquer Florida and to erect a marquisate, thirty leagues long by fifteen wide, in the country which he should conquer. The king, Charles V, who gave him this favor, bestowed upon him also the government of St. Iago (Santiago) de Cuba in order that he would be able to take in this island what he would need for his projected conquest of Florida. This news quickly spread through Spain and Portugal and large numbers of men of every age and condition flocked to the banners of de Soto. When all preparations had been made, the fleet embarked from San Lucar on April 6, 1538. (1) After a rather uneventful voyage across the Atlantic, he arrived in sight of Cuba towards the end of May. (2)

When de Soto had sojourned at Santiago for three months, he proceeded to Havana towards the end of August. There he remained through the

1. Shipp, pp.244-245.

2. Ibid., p.247.

Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto in the Conquest of Florida, Elvas Narrative in Bradford Club Collection, New York 1866 vol. v. p.6.

Translation made by Buckingham Smith.

Irving, T. "Conquest of Florida" London, E.Churton, 1835, p.39

Shea in Winsor, vol. ii.p245.

Relacam Verdadeira, Translated by Buckingham Smith in Bradford Club Series, New York 1866, chapter i-iv., Smith, pp.1-21; Hakluyt, pp.695-712; Forces "Tracts and Other Papers", Vol.iv. p.10

winter of 1538-1539.. Finally the next spring he set out for Florida, leaving the capital of Cuba on May 12, 1539. (1) It is related that his armament was the first seen in the Indies.

De Soto was nineteen days at sea before he landed on the Florida coast about the end of May, 1539. He is said to have disembarked at the spot now identified as Tampa Bay, on the western coast, to which he gave the name Espiritu Santo (Holy Ghost). (2)

The territory around Tampa seems to have belonged to a chief known as Harriga, (3) from thence he proceeded to the neighboring territory of Muscoco. After remaining here for three weeks, the Spaniards made preparations to penetrate into the northern part of the peninsula. They proceeded

1. Shipp, "De Soto and Florida," p.256

2. Ibid., p.257.

Elvas Narrative in Bradford Collection, vol. v. pp.22-25.

Irving, T. p.55.

Bolton, H.E., "Spanish Borderlands" New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921, p.49.

The date of his landing is given as May 18 in "A Translation of An Original Letter of Hernando to the Municipal Authorities of St. Iago de Cuba" in the Louisiana Historical Collections edited by B.F. French, 2nd Series, New York, 1875, pp.91-93.

Biedma, Luis Hernandez de, "A Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto in the Historical Collections of Louisiana", vol. ii, p.97.

Smith, Buckingham; "Coleccion", Washington 1851, p.7 Letter of De Soto.

Shea in Winsor, vol.ii, p.245.

"Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos" Madrid 1864-1884, vol. iii. pp.414-441
Force, Peter, "Tracts and Other Papers", Washington, W.Q. Force 1836-1845, vol iv, p.13.

3. Biedma in Historical Collections of Louisiana, vol.ii. p.97.

Elvas Narrative in Bradford Collection, vol.v, p.30 calls him Ucita.

to the land of Urribaracuxi. (1) Here they remained for a time, and then pushed on to the province of Acuera which seems to have lain about twenty leagues to the north from the territory of Urribaracuxi. Here the Spaniards met with difficulties; the chief of Acuera would not treat with them at all. He harrassed them night and day, killing in the process more than eighteen of Soto's men.

From this inhospitable place they passed next into the province of Ocaly, the chief of which was also hostile, so that after a brief sojourn they were constrained to move on, this time to the territory of the Vitachucco. (2)

In the territory of Vitachuco (3) they met with open armed resistance as well as subtle treachery. (4) Here the chief almost succeeded in wiping out the Spaniards; however, having discovered the plot in time, Soto took vengeance upon this people and continued into the province of Ossachile. (5) Here, too, they fought, killing many Indians and capturing others. From this place they proceeded in a westerly direction towards the

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1. This land of Urribaracuxi is also known in sixteenth century references as Hurripacuxi and also as Paracoxi under which latter name it appears in the map appended to this chapter. For further details see Brinton, D.G. "Notes on the Floridian Peninsula," p.118. Biedma in Louisiana Historical Collections, vol.ii, p.98, calls this chief's territory Hurripacuxi, and says he lived about twelve leagues from the coast. Elvas Narrative calls him Paracoxi, p.36.
 2. Ocaly, possibly the Aquile of Biedma, in Narratives of the de Soto Expedition," p.98.
 3. Biedma calls it Ivi-ta-chuco, p.99. In the Elvas Narrative, p.41, the only name to appear for this spot is Napetaca.
 4. For details cf. Shipp, pp.283-299.
 5. In Elvas Narrative in Bradford Club Collection, vol.v, p.45 -et seq. it is called Uzachil.

province of Apalache where they had several serious combats with the Indians. (1) The Spaniards remained in Apalache through the winter of 1539-1540. In the spring of 1540 they decided to explore the interior of the country, and accordingly turned to the north and entered what is now the territory of the State of Alabama. The rest of de Soto's expedition we know; how the explorers wandered across what is now Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas, and how de Soto died in 1541 and his body was interred in the waters of the Mississippi. These events have no immediate concern for us as they are beyond the confines of the Florida Peninsula, which is the scene of the occurrences comprised in this paper. (2) But the voyage and exploration of Hernando de Soto gave Spain another claim to the territory of Florida, and to us this is most important, as we shall soon see.

The early Spanish explorers have justly received a reputation for their brutality towards the Indians with whom they came in contact. The territory of Florida, or rather the natives living there, had been no strangers to the brutality of the conquistadores. But the Indians had friends in the members of the great Dominican order, their most famous champions being Father Las Casas and Father Antonio de Montesinos, the former has been styled as "the protector of the Indians." These men persistently denounced the persecution of the Indians, Las Casas making

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1. Elvas Narrative in Bradford, vol.v, pp.45-50.
Fontaneda in Shipp, p.587, calls it "Abolachi."
 2. Shipp, p.340.

innumerable trips from the Indies to Spain in this cause. (1)

Among the followers of Las Casas in his own order was the priest, Padre Luis Cancer de Barbastro, who, in 1546, proposed to attempt the peaceful conquest of Florida. The idea was finally approved by the Spanish court, and Padre Cancer with Padres Beteta, Juan Garcia, Diego de Tolosa and others left Vera Cruz in 1549. After cruising on the Florida coast, they landed and mass was celebrated on shore. But one of their number, Padre Diego, who had stayed on shore to spend the night with the Indians, was murdered. This caused the other priests to abandon the projected settlements; that is all of them but Padre Cancer, who felt that by presents and kindness he could remain with the Indians. Finally he persuaded them to row him back to land. When he approached it, he leaped out of the boat into the water and waded to the beach. There he knelt for a moment and proceeded to meet the Indians. One Indian pulled off his hat, another struck him down with a club, while still others came to the shore and drove off the boat with arrows. After lingering awhile, the vessel sailed back to Vera Cruz, while the corpse of Florida's first martyr was left to the disposal of his Indian assassins. (2)

1. Shea, p.256.

Las Casas, Bartolomé, "Destruccion de las Indias. De las Provincias de la Tierra Firme que Se Llama la Florida." London, reprinted by Schulze & Dean 1812, pp. 101-104.

2. Smith, Buckingham, "Colleccion," pp.190-202.

Touron, Antoine; Charlevoix, P.F., "Life of Bartholemew de Las Casas," New York, P.O'Shea, 1871, vol. vi., p.81.

Barcia, Carballido y Zuniga, "Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida," 1512-1722, Por Gabriel de Cardenas z Cano, Madrid, N.R. Franco, 1723, pp.25-26.

Las Bazares The next Spaniard who attempted a voyage to the Florida coast
1558
 was Guido de las Bazares. He was commissioned by Don Luis Velasco, the newly appointed governor of Florida, to explore the Florida coast. On September 3, 1558, he left the port of Vera Cruz. After sailing along the Florida coast on the Gulf side, he discovered a bay in 28 degrees 30' north latitude which he named La Bahia de San Francisco. At 29 degrees 30' north latitude he discovered an island about four leagues from the mainland. Sailing on, he discovered a commodious bay which he named Filipina in honor of King Philip II of Spain. This is known today as Pensacola Bay. The entrance he charted at 30 degrees 30' north latitude. Here he anchored and explored the territory in the vicinity of the bay. Contrary winds, however, forced him to turn his course back to Vera Cruz.

Tristan In the next year a more pretentious expedition than any
de Luna
1559 since the time of de Soto embarked for the land of Florida. It was under the command of Don Tristan de Luna who had, the year previously, been appointed governor of Florida. He brought with him fifteen hundred soldiers and a large number of Franciscan friars. The company sailed from

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1. Shipp, "DeSoto and Florida, pp.491-492.
 Shea in Winsor, vol.ii, pp.256-258.
 Alaman, Lucas, "Disertaciones sobre la Historia de la Republica Megicana.
 3 vols. Megico, Impr. de J.M.Lara, 1844-1849, 3 vols. vol.iii, appendice
 p.11.
 French, "Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida," vol.ii, p.236,
 contains a translation of "Declaracion de Guido de Bazares de la Jornada
 que hizo a descubrir los puertos y varias que hai en la costa de la
 Florida.
 Smith, p.10, "Relacion de Don Luis de Velasco a S.M., Mexico, Sept.24, 1559."

The company sailed from Vera Cruz and reached the Bay of Filipina on August 14th. Despite the fact that a gale wrecked a large part of the fleet, Tristan de Luna sent a party of soldiers with two friars to explore inland. They penetrated as far as the Province of Coca. Here they remained for some weeks, but due to certain difficulties with the natives, they abandoned the expedition and returned to Mexico. (1)

Villa Fane The governor and captain general of Florida who succeeded
1561
Don Tristan de Luna was Don Angel de Villa Fane. He, too, organized an expedition to this land. With two frigates and a caravel they arrived at the St. Helena up which they sailed four or live leagues, but could find no suitable place for a port. Then, continuing on to the north, they doubled Cape San Roman in 34 degrees north latitude, where soundings were made, and they anchored. Then, going into the interior, Villa Fane came to a large river which he called the Jordan. He entered the Jordan with his ships, but finding it unfavorable, returned to the sea and proceeded along the coast. At 34 degrees 30' north latitude they passed the River of Canoes which he sent his treasurer, Don Alonso Velasques, to explore. On June 14th they reached Cape Trafalga in 35 degrees north latitude, (2) but, owing to a terrific storm and the dangerous shoals along the coast, they made for the port of Monte Christo on the Island of Hispaniola (Haiti) where they arrived on July 9, 1561.

1. Shipp, pp. 492-493.

2. This was Cape Hatteras in North Carolina according to Shea in Winsor, vol. ii, p.260.

Discussion
As to Right
of
Possession.

It was a recognized custom of the age of exploration that the first nation actually to touch a given land would be accorded clear title to all that territory, no matter what its extent, or whether a settlement were immediately established or not. This was the principle employed by all nations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which had any colonial aspirations. The English, by the voyage of Cabot, claimed the whole North American continent, even from the Atlantic to the Pacific, as was evident in the charters of Virginia, the Carolinas and Massachusetts. The Dutch claimed Manhattan Island, Long Island, New Jersey and the territory through which the Hudson River flowed, all because of the voyage of Henry Hudson. We know that the French also advanced claims to the St. Lawrence country, the land bordering the Great Lakes and all the Mississippi Valley to the Gulf of Mexico because of the voyage of Cartier, Hennepin, Allouez, Marquette, Joliet, LaSalle and others.

Now, since this was the custom of the age, the Spaniards seemed to have ample justification for their claim to Florida; certainly at least to the peninsula. They had made four important voyages to the land, one by Ponce de Leon in 1513, which first brought the peninsula to the knowledge of Europeans, another by de Leon in 1521, a third by Pamphilo Navarez from 1528 to 1529 and a fourth by Hernando de Soto in 1539. This is not considering the numerous minor voyages which we have detailed in this paper and which number eleven. But what of France's claim, what of Verazzani in 1524? Had France any claim to settlement, or were the Huguenots from 1562 to 1565 merely bold aggressors into a land where they had no right to be? This question is not as easy to decide as it might seem. In the first place

did Verazzani ever touch the Florida Peninsula, there is no positive proof that he did. How far to the south he went before he turned to the north as detailed on pages 14 and 15 is not definitely known. But this is true, that the coast which he explored mainly was far removed from the locale of the Spanish expeditions which had preceded him. If it could be proved that he attempted to lay claim to the Florida peninsula, then there could be no doubt but that he was a usurper. However, we must take into account the inaccurate knowledge of this coast in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and Verazzani's own statement on page 15 that he sighted a coast never before beheld by the ancients or the moderns; as far as we know he laid claim only to that territory which he had explored, which was probably from the Carolinas to Labrador. It would seem to us that the first French Huguenot settlement was in the territory which might have been reasonably claimed by the French due to Verazzani's voyage in 1524, but the second colony, on the St. Johns, was on the Florida Peninsula which was certainly, by right of exploration and attempted settlement, the territory of the Spanish. Let us see what they themselves held concerning this matter.

King Philip II, seeing that the French had settled at Port Royal in 1562 (which we shall describe in our next chapter) requested the Council of the Indies to give him their definition of his rights to Florida and decide whether the French had the right to take possession of the country and build forts there. The Council replied that his title to Florida was clear and indisputable, founded on the gift of Alexander VI (which by that time-1562- had become a dead letter) and on the possession taken by Don Angel de Villa Fane in the same country which the French have recently

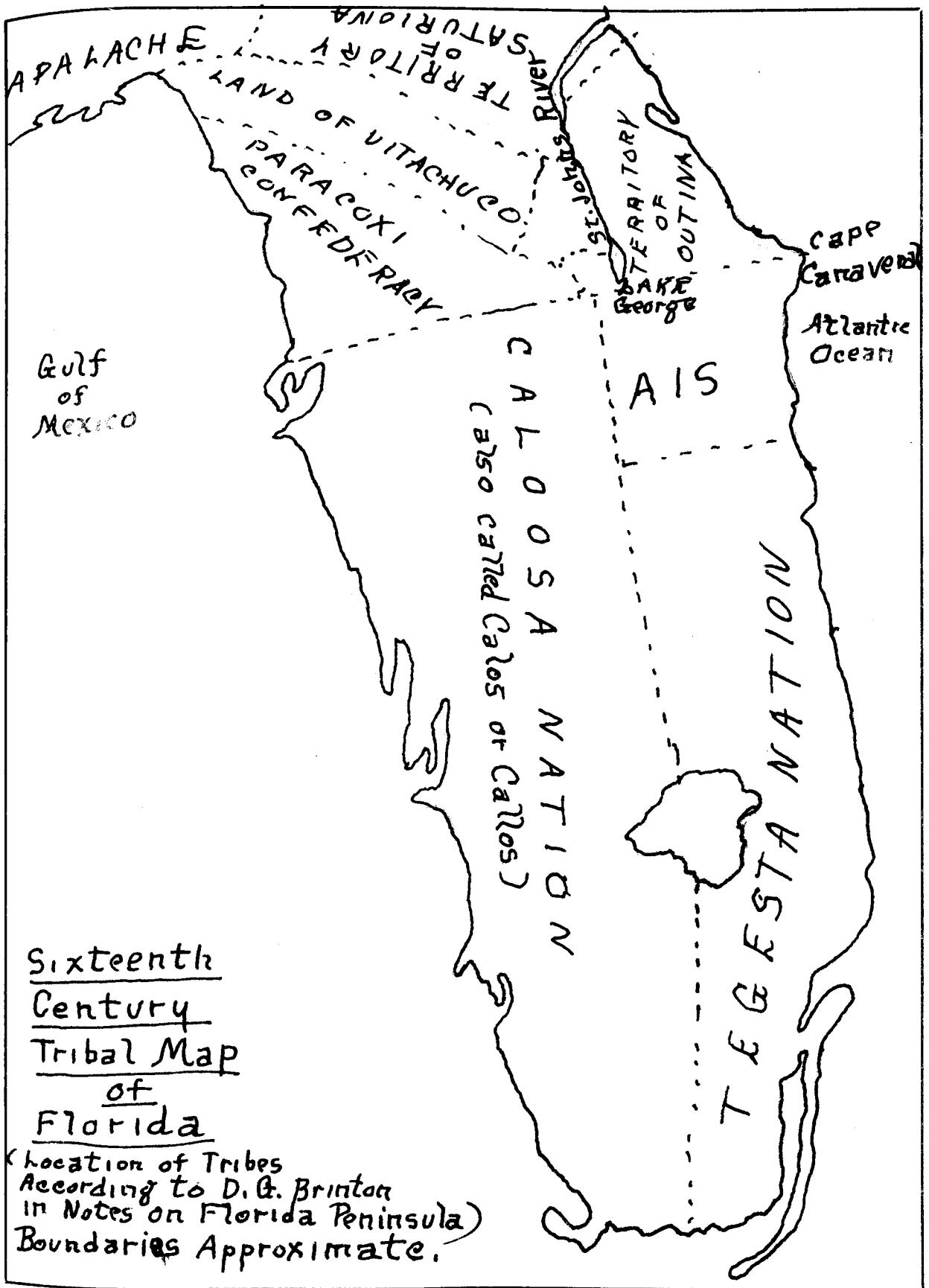
taken possession of and on which they have built a fort called Caroline. This title was also founded on the territory which Guido de las Bazaes took formal possession of in 1558. Juan Ponce de Leon was the first to take possession of it, and after him Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, then Pamfilo de Navarez, and after him Hernando de Soto, all of whom had royal commissions to explore and take possession of Florida. Thus they concluded the French have no right to interfere as they might build forts and prey upon Spanish commerce in the West Indies. (1) But Verazzani had come before Ayllon to lend color to the French claim, and certainly the first French colony was not in territory traversed by the Spanish prior to 1524, as Ayllon had only gone up 33 degrees 30' north latitude. The best we can say is that the case either way, as far as this particular part of the coast is concerned, seems very doubtful either for the Spanish or the French, although for the determination of the rights of the first French settlement, we are inclined to favor the French due to Verazzani.

1. Shipp, pp. 493-494.

CHAPTER II.THE FIRST HUGUENOT COLONY.1562.

Condition of France in the Sixteenth Century. The sixteenth century which had been productive of such marvelous discoveries as we have recounted in the last chapter, was also a period of startling religious innovation. At the beginning of the century all Europe, with the exception of certain eastern Slavic districts, was Catholic; at the end of the century only the southern half was strongly Catholic, while in the north Catholicism was either entirely stifled or else fighting precariously for its existence.

Calvin. On the western part of the continent France was the greatest battleground between the old order of belief and the new. One of her own sons, John Calvin, considering himself "inspired," had begun a movement to purify the morals and the practices of Catholicism. He believed that this purification would come not from within the traditional church but from outside of its fold. Finding that the French king, Francis I, was a militant champion of orthodoxy, Calvin soon felt himself constrained to transfer his activities to other quarters. He chose the Swiss town of Basle as a headquarters for a time. Here he wrote his famous work, "The Institutes of the Christian Religion," which was to serve as the groundwork for all his future teachings. While at Basle, Calvin became acquainted with the creed of the Swiss reformer, Zwingli, who had been killed during a war on the Catholic Cantons. A few years later, 1536 to be exact, Calvin seized an opportunity at leadership by taking part in the revolt of the citizens of Geneva against the political rule of the House of Savoy and the



religious rule of the Catholic church. The Genevans won, and for his part in the fray Calvin was given an appointment as chief pastor and preacher in the city. His influence was now assured; he became the spiritual and temporal head of the city; a Protestant University of Geneva was established which became the nerve center of the new creed, drawing students from all European countries. Soon Calvinism had spread to every part of Europe.

Political
Turmoil.

The creed of Calvin rapidly spread to France. While the abuses in the Catholic church in that country were not as serious as they were in many other nations, yet there existed a restlessness, especially among the upper and middle classes which welcomed such an innovation as Calvinism. These Huguenots,(1) as they were called in France, soon increased in number, especially among the lower nobility, the professional men and the merchants. By the middle of the century this religious rift had become extremely serious. It gave rise to a series of internal dissensions, to political play which it is not our province to trace out. Finally these political and religious differences brought on a long and devastating series of civil wars, which filled almost the whole of the latter half of the sixteenth century in France. Through these relentless conflicts much of the territory was laid waste, the population was demoralized which, in turn, brought about a vast moral and material decline. The anarchy of the

1. It is said that the name Huguenot was derived from the fact that the first Calvinists in Rouen held their secret meetings in the basement of a church dedicated to St. Hugo. (Authority for statement, Mr. Robert Ranson, St. Augustine, Fla., author of "The Chronological History of Florida.")

time is aptly pictured for us by the contemporary poet, Ronsard, in his "Discours des Miseres du Temps," as follows:

"Tout a l' abandon va sans ordre et sans loy;
 L'artisan par ce monstre a laissé sa boutique,
 Le pasteur ses brebis, l'avocat sa pratique,
 Sa nef le marinier, son trafiq le marchand,
 Et par luy le preud'homme est devenu meschant,
 L'escolier se debauché, et, de sa faulx tortüe
 Le laboureur façonne une dague pointüe,
 Une pique guerrière il fait de son rateau
 Et l'acier de son coudre il change en un couteau.
 Morte est l'autorité; chacun vit en sa guise;
 Au vice desregle la licence est permise." (1)

Foreign Affairs.

In foreign relations the condition of France was as unfortunate as its domestic affairs. The army had declined and the navy had lost the prestige it had enjoyed in the days of Francis I. There were no alliances, there was a great need of soldiers, of sailors and of allies. The other nations of Europe were ready and willing to profit by French troubles and dissensions. Spain and Austria, especially as they were both ruled by the Hapsburgs, had France surrounded. Their influence extended

1. Ronsard, edition of 1623, vol. ii, p.1335 (cited in Gaffarel, "Histoire de la Floride Francaise," Paris, Firmin-Didot et Cte, 1875, p.4.

into the Low Countries and into Italy, thus fortifying themselves by a ring of dependent states. It would seem that France, in the mid century, had but one ally, and that was the Turk, an alliance with whom was quite uncertain and founded upon the grounds of the most dire expediency. (1)

De Coligny But there lived in France a man who realized keenly the desperate pass to which things had come. He was Gaspard de Coligny, Huguenot, Seigneur de Chatillon sur-Loing, Colonel General of the French infantry and one time admiral of France and Brittany. He has been represented to us as a great patriot, as one whose sole aim in life was to live for France. As to the veracity of this representation, there may be some doubt, but we cannot for a moment deny that de Coligny was a man of able intelligence, capable as a leader, consummate as a planner. To de Coligny the civil wars, which his knowledge of affairs could easily see in the offing, would be an unmitigated curse to France. The prospect naturally saddened him as he knew that his people would suffer greatly in the impending conflict, and that France herself would be plunged into a period of devastation. But de Coligny was by no means a pacifist, foreign wars had a certain delight for him; there he would have an opportunity to cover himself with glory, and his nation would obtain her place in the sun. Especially did de Coligny find pleasure in entertaining a dream of a future conflict between Spain and France. His one great hate was against this people to the South, for he believed that the court of

1. Gaffarel, pp. 4-5.

Thompson, James Westfall, "The Wars of Religion in France," Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 1909; (A detailed study of this period).

Spain was exciting the queen mother of France, Catherine de Medicis, and her weak son, Charles IX, to a persecution of the Huguenots for the purpose of ruining the nation by internecine strife and thus, indirectly, advancing Spanish Hapsburg world power. In the mind of the great Huguenot leader the Spanish were enemies of his country and his religion, and his great dominating passion was to destroy them, or, failing this, at least to weaken them.

His Colonial Plans. De Coligny's ardor to destroy Spain did not stop short at Europe. For the great power and wealth of Spain came not from the small arid peninsula to the south of the Pyrenees, but from across the ocean, from the fabulously wealthy mines of Mexico and Peru; Spain was the undisputed lord of that vast continent called America, about which Europe in those days heard so much and knew so little. But why, reasoned this Frenchman, should the flag of Spain fly over a land so large, so rich and so tempting to settlement. Could not France, too, make its influence felt outside its own borders; could it not, too, plant colonies, find gold and become a great world power. To this active mind these wonderings were but the germs of plans which were all the more urgent as he considered the state of his fellow religionists. (1)

The French Huguenots, who had suffered persecution and who were, in 1560 and 1561, free for a time, had become well organized, were well trained and were eager to try their strength against their Catholic foes. It was probably this attitude, partially at least, which brought on the massacre of Vassy by the Guises, and the beginning of the terrible series

(1) Appendix I.

of civil wars. De Coligny sensed this tenseness in the atmosphere, realized that it would be but the prelude to an approaching struggle which he wished to prevent. In order to stave off any such clash, de Coligny had already established a haven for his co-religionists in America. In the year 1555 he had sent to the shores of Brazil a group of French Protestants who settled in the harbor of Rio de Janiero under the command of Durand de Villegagnon, but the Indians, as well as some of the Portuguese attacked the little group, and the affair was given up as a failure. (1)

Plans Colony in Florida. But the failure of one expedition did not discourage the

Huguenot chief. Soon after this first affair he was made governor of Havre.

His relations with the Norman merchants very rapidly became commercial as well as political, causing him to announce his intention of opening new outlets to French commerce. No sooner had he made this fact known when the Spaniards became alarmed for the continuance of their commercial supremacy. The Spanish ambassador at Paris wrote on October 28, 1560 to the Cardinal of Lorraine to obtain more precise information on this point.(2) The Portuguese, too, were alarmed for they believed that another expedition would be organized to Brazil. The English looked upon the enterprise jealously. Yet, notwithstanding these signs of disapproval on the part of the other powers, de Coligny invited all volunteers, Protestants or not, to come together at Havre. He announced, also, that soon an expedition would leave that port to go to Florida. (3)

1. Gaffarel, pp.5-8

2. Tessier, "L'Amiral Coligny," p.47 (cited in Gaffarel, p.9).

3. Delaborde, Jules, "Gaspard de Coligny, Amiral de France," Paris, G.Fischbacher, 1879-1882, 3 vols.-vol.ii, pp.14-15.

Gaffarel, p.8.

Ribaut

To lead an expedition of this kind onto a hostile coast it was necessary to obtain a leader of rare judgement, capability and intelligence. De Coligny perceived these qualities in the person of Jean Ribaut, like himself a Huguenot, and a man of singular qualities. This Ribaut had distinguished himself before as a man of tact, intelligence and discretion. He had served the interests of France on a special mission to Scotland in 1559, and was to all appearances a man fit to lead his fellows in any enterprise of daring. (1)

The Voyage

At length the volunteers were ready to leave; two vessels were prepared and the crews to man them had been hired. On the morning of February 18, 1562, the party set out from the port of Havre. (2) The voyage itself lasted a little over two months, (3) for on April 30th they arrived in sight of land. (4) The coast seemed to be low land, no hills could be

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1. Tessier, cited in Gaffarel, "Histoire de la Floride Francaise" p.13 says about the Scottish mission of Ribaut: "John Ribaut is dispatched from this court with charge to repair to the admiral and from this to receive further directions for his going into Scotland."
 - Laudonniere, p.15.
 2. "L' an mil cinq cent soixante deux, le dix-huitieme jour de fevrier," sec. Laudonniere, p.15.
 3. Hakluyt Collection (Copy in Ayer Collection at Newberry Library) has translation of Ribaut's "Narrative" pp. E.4 and E.5. French, "Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida," 2nd Series pp. 165-166, translation of the "Narrative of the First Voyage of Jean de Ribaut". The French original of the narrative of Ribaut has never been located, Hakluyt is the oldest copy extant and this is an English translation.
 - Gaffarel, p.13.
 4. Charlevoix, Pierre Francois Xavier de, "Histoire et Description Generale de la Nouvelle France", Paris, Noyon Fils, 1744, vol.i.p.25.
 4. French, pp.168-169.

perceived, but the country was covered with an infinite number of high and large trees." They cast anchor ten leagues from the coast in ten fathoms of water. To the south of them they descried a cape "situated under the latitude of nine and twenty degrees and a half" which they called Cape Francois. (1) The country in the vicinity of Cape Francois, however, seemed not to their liking (2), for they coasted to the north and came to the mouth of the modern St. Johns River. This river being broad and deep at the mouth tempted them to sail up its banks, which they did after anchoring at the outlet during the night. (3) The next day they met the natives and parleyed with them for two days, visiting their villages and giving presents of mirrors, beads and pieces of cloth to their chiefs. (4) On May 3rd they took their departure from the Indians along the St. Johns (5) which they called the River May. But before their departure they erected a stone pillar on the banks of this stream. According to descriptions (6) the pillar contained the arms of the king of France and its erection was meant to be a mark of the establishment of their formal claim to the territory in the vicinity.

1. This cape is now known as Cape Canaveral, approximately forty miles south of Daytona Beach---author. Cf. French, "Historical Collections."
2. The country in the vicinity of Cape Canaveral is mainly swampland, traversed by the Indian River and its inlets.--author.
3. See Appendix II.
4. French, pp.169-170.
5. Ibid. pp.170-179.
6. See Appemdix II.
Charlevoix, p.25.
French, p.176.

The voyagers in their progress to the north passed numerous streams emptying into the Atlantic to which they gave the names of the rivers of France. The first stream they called the Charente, the second the Garonne, the third the Gironde, the fourth the Belle and the fifth the Grande. (1) Proceeding further to the north they encountered a large stream which they called the Jordan, (2) and which they discovered on Whitsunday, May 27, 1562. This was one of the largest rivers they had seen (3). Here they procured wood and water and proceeded a short distance up the coast to another stream which they called the Libourne. There, on May 30th, they planted another column, engraved with the king's arms, on a high eminence on the south bank. They then continued, but the vessels were separated one from the other in a fog. When, after a day and a night, they came together again, they decided to return to the place where they had obtained wood and water. Upon entering the harbor, they found it to be very large and commodious; it was deep enough for the largest ships of France to enter, and even possibly the caravels of Venice could have found anchorage there. This place, due to its vast size, they named Port Royal. (4) After anchoring, they landed to explore the country.

1. Laudonnière, p. 20

Gaffarel, pp.15-17

2. French, for "Narrative of First Voyage of Jean Ribault," pp.180-184

3. This same river Jordan was visited and so named by Vasquez d'Allyon in 1520 (cited on page 184 of French's Historical Collections).

4. Laudonnière, p. 21.

Colony At
Port Royal
tic over its climate and fertility.

Ribaut upon observing the country closely became enthusiastic over its climate and fertility. He decided that this was the best place they had visited on the whole expedition and the logical site for a permanent colony. (1) Calling his men together he addressed them in the following fashion; "I believe that none of you are ignorant of the great consequences of our enterprise, and also how agreeable it is to our young king, and for this reason I wish to remind you that those who, forgetting their parents and their country, have dared to undertake a thing of such importance (as this expedition) merit a good and just reward." He concluded his exhortation in the following words; "I then beg you all to consider it (i.e. the idea of remaining at the colony) and freely to declare to me your will; if only to bring your Protestant names to the ears of the king and princes, so that our fame will shine forth in the future inextinguishable for the betterment of our France." This rousing speech was followed by shouts of "Vive la France, Vive le Roi". (2)

Ribaut chose very carefully the spot for the projected colony. Near the mouth of the river there were two small islands separated by an arm of the stream which was deep enough to permit the entry of ships of a medium tonnage. The coasts of these islands were easy to defend and here Ribaut resolved to settle after consulting the wishes of his men. One of

1. Gaffarel, pp.20-21.

2. For the original French version of this speech see Appendix III.
Gaffarel, pp.20-21.

the islands was named Libourne by the Gascons of the expedition and the other Charlesfort by Ribaut. (1)

Charlesfort

On the island of Charlesfort the voyagers decided to erect a small fort. The projected fort was made large enough to contain the twenty eight men who volunteered to remain in Florida. In length it was one hundred and sixty feet or fifty two meters and eighty centimeters and one hundred and thirty feet or thirty nine meters and sixty centimeters wide. It was constructed only of earth and to-day not a vestige of it remains. (2)

Albert In Command

Considering, however, that he had promised to return to France for more aid and supplies, Ribaut began to make preparation for his departure. He chose as commandant in his absence one Albert whom he charged to govern the men wisely so that the little band would prosper and the settlement rebound to the glory of New France. The soldiers were exhorted to obey the new commandant as if he were Ribaut himself who had charge. (3) Leaving them with the blessing of God upon their enterprise the captain sailed from Port Royal out to sea to take his way back to France. (4)

1. Charlevoix, vol.1. p.26.

2. Gaffarel, pp.22-23.
French, p.188.

3. "Comme si c'estoit moy-mesme qui demeurast." For a full account of this speech see Appendix III.

4. Laudonniere, p.38.

Ribaut's
Return To
France

After leaving Charlesfort Ribaut turned towards the north, but considering the season of the year, and fearing he might encounter dangers for which he was unprepared he finally decided to sail directly for France. After being on the sea almost two months he arrived at the harbor of Dieppe on July 20th, 1562. (1)

But it was a different France that Ribaut found upon his return. The country was seething in discontent, and disorder was rife due to the famous massacre of Vassy on March 1, 1562 in which the Guise party had killed a congregation of Huguenots who were assembled at prayer. The first civil war had begun, Protestants and Catholics had taken up arms, the clash of combat was in the air. Under such circumstances it was quite clear that distant colonial enterprises could not be considered seriously.

It is quite probable that Ribaut took some active part in the war, but in the next year, 1563, he retired to England where he collected his notes and had them printed. This little work was translated into English in the Hakluyt Collection of Divers Voyages. There is some probability that Queen Elizabeth read of this place called Florida and may even have dreamed of colonizing it. (2)

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1. Gaffarel, p.25.
 2. Haag, Eugene; "La France Protestante," Sous la Direction de M. Henri Bordier, Paris 1877-1888; 6 vols., vol. vi. p. 313.
 Charlevoix, vol. i, p.31.
 French, p.188.

Dissension

The French soldiers who had remained behind at Charlesfort in at Charlesfort. Port Royal harbor soon became the victims of an unfortunate set of circumstances, not entirely out of their control to prevent. In the first place they failed to provide sufficient food to last them through the winter months. They seemed to be of the opinion that the luxuriant vegetation which they saw about them and the fruits which they found grew all the year. Of course, they soon found the case to be quite different from what they had supposed. As autumn approached their provisions began to diminish, and it was not long before they were thrown upon the Indians of the neighborhood for support. The chiefs, let it be said to their credit, were generous with what they had, dividing equally all their provisions with the newcomers. Soon it became evident that these provisions were not sufficient to sustain both the natives and the French. The latter were then forced to forage for food and to penetrate into the interior to contact chiefs whose stores of provisions they had not yet touched. They found two friendly chiefs, Convexis and Ouade, who helped them out with additional supplies. With these people they also exchanged some knives and other small arms for the woven rugs which the Indians were adept in making.

Having obtained a fair supply of provisions, they made their way back to Charlesfort only to find the whole structure burned down. This was another blow to their morale which by this time was none too strong. Still, they set about to rebuild the fort, and, with the aid of the Indians, finally completed it. (1)

1. Gaffarel, pp.38-39.
Charlevoix, vol.1, pp.32-34.

Revolt. But the troubles in the little settlement were just commencing. A soldier named Guernache, who had been a drummer in one of the companies, was hanged by the commandant, Albert, for committing some slight fault. This angered the other soldiers who murmured against their commandant, but Albert used abusive language towards them and endeavored to bully them into submission. Shortly after this incident, another soldier, named Lachere, was exiled by the commandant for what reason we do not know. He was banished to a small island some distance from the fort and here he remained without food for over eight days. Albert remarked that he would be pleased to hear of the death of this wretch and that he would punish others in the same manner for any breach of discipline. Upon this occasion he used such strong profanity against his men that Laudonnière remarks "decency prevents me from telling it." (1) The soldiers who witnessed this outburst began to fear that they, too, might be forced to suffer as had Lachere. Finally, in desperation, they determined to kill the commandant, Albert. How it was done we do not know, (2) but after Albert was put out of the way, they hastened to the little island three leagues from Charlesfort where they found Lachere almost dead from hunger. Upon their return with the erstwhile prisoner, they all assembled for the election of a new commander. The choice fell upon one Nichollas Barre, a man acceptable to all, and it would seem that from this time on

1. Laudonnière, p. 53, says "Il disoit davantage qu'il en vouloit chastier encor d' autres, et usoit de langage si mal sonnant, que l' honnesteté me defend de reciter."

2. Laudonnière, p. 54, merely says: "...resoluerent de le faire mourir... leur dessain executé..."

all dissension ceased. (1)

Abandonment
of the
Colony Realizing that Ribaut had been gone to France over eight months and fearing that some untoward incident had occurred which would prevent their receiving any aid from the mother country, the inmates of Charlesfort began to consider seriously a return to France and an abandonment of the settlement. But the obstacles to a return journey were great. They had no ship, and while there was plenty of lumber in the vicinity with which to build one, practically all the tools necessary for that purpose were lacking. However, with some of their weapons, and aided by the Indians, they finally constructed a crude boat. When the carpentry work had been done, the Indians urged them to replace the tar by rosin or gum in the seams of the craft and the tow by moss, and they gave them some ropes woven of bind-weed. For sails the Frenchmen were forced to use all their shirts and bedclothes, so that from the beginning they suffered from a lack of raiment. (2)

Sufferings
on the
Atlantic. It was a joyful day when the little band left Charlesfort and the harbor of Port Royal for the return to France. They hoped for favorable breezes and expected that within two months, more or less, they would see their homeland. With this end in view, they did not overburden their frail craft with an excess of provisions. But fate was cruel. After they had sailed a third of their journey, they encountered a dead calm, in which there was not the slightest breeze. In three weeks

1. Laudonnière, p.54

2. Gaffarel, p.40

they had not advanced more than twenty-five leagues. (1) All during this time the food was naturally becoming more scarce until they were reduced to such straits that they could eat only twelve grains of millet apiece per day. Finally the food supply gave out altogether and there was then no resource left to them but to eat their shoes and collars and whatever other articles of leather they had about them. As for drinking, their water supply having become exhausted, some drank the water of the sea, others their own urine; in such straits a part of the company died of hunger. Seeing themselves in such a desperate condition, some among them proposed that it would be more expedient if one were to die than that so many should perish miserably. They asserted that one could die and thus sustain the others. Lots were cast, and he chosen to die was none other than Lachère who had been rescued from exile as we have mentioned before. After he was dispatched, his flesh was divided up equally among the crew, and on such food they sustained themselves for a while longer. (2)

Landing in England. At length land was sighted; it proved to be the English

coast. Soon an English ship boarded them. Among its crew were some Frenchmen whom they knew. The English captain ordered the weaker members to be put on shore until they were sufficiently recovered. The others he took on board his own vessel and brought them to Queen Elizabeth. The queen seemed very interested in their story, and asked them numerous questions about this new land of Florida. Many of these navigators remained in her service in England; one of them, Martin Atinas, served as

1. Laudonnière, p. 56

2. For the original French narrative, see Appendix IV.

Charlevoix, pp. 34-35

Gaffarel, pp. 40-43

pilot to Hawkins, and conducted him to the Florida coast later. Some of the others returned to France. (1)

Effect
of this
Settlement.

This first colony of the French Huguenots was founded at time when the Spanish colonial officials in Mexico had just completed an elaborate condemnation of the country. They had reported that the territory of Florida, especially that part which is now outside of the present state but which they called the Bay of Santa Elena, was unfit for settlement. They declared that it was not profitable for any European nation to found a colony there, and insinuated, if they did not speak openly, that the French would not be foolish enough to attempt any foundation in such a region. But only three months after this report was issued the French, under Ribaut, came, as if to flaunt the Spanish officials, and while the first settlement was not successful, it demonstrated the nature of the country and gave the Spanish good cause to fear that the Frenchmen would return to plant a permanent settlement in what they regarded as their own land of Florida.

1. Gaffarel, pp.40-43.

CHAPTER III.THE SECOND HUGUENOT COLONY.1564-1565.

"Qui veut aller a la Floride,
 Qu'il y aille i' y ay esté;
 Et reuneu sec & aride,
 Et abbatu de pourteté.
 Pour Tous bien i' en ay rapporté
 Un beau baston blanc en ma main.
 Mais ie suis sain, non desgousté;
 Ca a manger: ie meurs de faim."
 (Nicholas Le Challeux)

Second ColonyUrged ByDe Coligny

The period after the first civil war in France from 1563 to 1564 was utilized by De Coligny to plead for a reinforcement of the first French colony sent out in 1562. From what we have been able to ascertain the great French Huguenot leader was ignorant of the fate of his fellow religionists who had founded Charlesfort. His plea was to send supplies and men to those whom Jean Ribaut had left in Florida, thus it is evident that he believed the colony to be still there. (1) Charles IX, upon this request of the great Admiral de Chatillon, ordered him to fit out such a fleet as was required for the purpose. Three vessels were accordingly pre-

1. Laudonnière, p.61.

Le Moyne de Morgues, "Narrative of the French Expedition to Florida under Laudonnière," Boston, J.R. Osgood & Co., 1875, p.1.

pared, the Elizabeth, the Breton and the Falcon. All of these ships were light, the Elizabeth being one hundred and twenty tons in weight, while the other two were only one hundred and sixty tons together. (1) As commander of the expedition, de Coligny chose one Rene Laudonnière, well known at the French court, possessing an excellent record of service to the kings of France, and considered an expert on naval affairs. (2) He is the author, also, of the famous "Histoire de la Floride" which is considered a primary source on Huguenot affairs in Sixteenth Century Florida. (3)

Departure for Florida. A crew having been gathered and all things made ready, the three vessels left the harbor of Havre de Grace on the morning of April 22nd, 1564. (4) On the 5th of May they reached Tenerife in the Canaries, on the 20th Martinique, and on the 21st the Island of Dominica. (5)

Arrival. After obtaining fresh water at the Island of Dominica, the little fleet continued to the Florida coast where they arrived on Thursday, June 22nd. (6) They coasted a short ways to the north and came to the mouth of the Matanzas Inlet. They lowered the sails and cast the anchor across the outlet of this stream. Laudonnière and his officers deliberated for awhile whether they should go ashore at this spot and explore the

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1. Gaffarel, p.49.
 2. Laudonnière, p.61.
LeMoyne de Morgues, p.1.
 3. See Appendix 1.
 4. Laudonnière, p.61
Gaffarel, p.50
Ternaux-Compans, Henri, "Recueil des Pieces Sur la Floride," Paris, A. Bertrand, 1841. "Lettre Venant de la Floride," p.234.
Charlevoix, vol.1, p.35.
 5. Gaffarel, p.50.
 6. Laudonnière, p.65-67.

country. Eventually they decided to land, Laudonniere with d'Ottigny, d'Arlac, the ensign, and a number of other gentlemen disembarked. They rowed up the river and took soundings, then decided to go ashore and talk with the Indians who had, in the meantime, been following them along the bank and shouting their words of welcome, "Antipola Bonasson." (1)

The natives were friendly in their reception of the Frenchmen, and Laudonniere, after meeting the chief, gave him presents of certain gaudy beads which pleased him greatly. Laudonniere remarks that he himself praised God for the way these savages acted, for it made his companions feel more secure. (2) As night was coming on, the French decided to go back to their ships, but the Indians were anxious to have them remain. Still, not desiring to spend the night on shore, they took leave of their new friends and made for their ships. Laudonniere, before leaving, named this river the River of Dolphins. They remained in this region for a day, and finding there was no place for their vessels to anchor, they went further to the north until they came to the mouth of the River May, where they cast anchor. (3) The chief at this place, as we mentioned in the first chapter, was Saturiona who remembered the French of 1562 and welcomed these newcomers. He was to be their ally in later developments against the Spanish.

1. Laudonniere, p.67

2. Ibid., p.68 .

3. Ibid., pp.68-69.

Gaffarel, pp.50-51.

LeMoyne de Morgues, p.2.

Ternaux-Compans, "Lettre Venant de la Floride," p.239.

Charlevoix, vol.1, p.36.

Fort Caroline. The country about the River may attracted the Frenchmen, and they decided to plant their colony at this spot. As a primary precaution, a fort was necessary, and they immediately proceeded towards its erection, being aided in this enterprise by Satouriona's men who volunteered their services. (1) When completed, the structure which they named Fort Caroline in honor of their sovereign, Charles IX, (2) was rather an elaborate affair for the remoteness of the place. According to Laudonnière's account, the fort was set up in the form of a triangle; the west side, which faced the land, was protected by a trench offset by gazons made in the form of parapets nine feet high; the other side, which faced towards the river, was closed off by a palisade made in the manner of gabions; on the southern side there was a kind of bastion in which was erected a storehouse for munitions. The whole affair was built of fascines or sand except the gazons, two or three feet high, which comprised the parapets. In the middle was a square eighteen paces long and the same wide. On the south side of the square was built a guard house, and on the other side, facing the north, was erected a house which Laudonniere confesses he built a little too high, for shortly afterwards the wind blew it down, and he tells us that experience has convinced him that it is not wise to build houses very high in this land due to the strong winds. (3)

1. Le Moyne de Morgues, p.3.

2. Laudonnière, p.86

3. Laudonnière, p.85, says: "Je feis batir...une maison de l'autre costé vers le north, laquelle j'avois faict eslever un peu trop haut; car un peu de temps après, le vent me l'abbatit...etc."

One side of this court was also the munition storehouse, and on the opposite side, facing the river, was Laudonnière's own home, around which there were covered galleries. The principal jettée of the house faced the square, while the other jettée faced towards the river. Some distance from the fort Laudonnière caused an oven to be built because, since the houses were covered with the sap of palm trees, it would be too dangerous to have an oven near them. This is the description he gives us of Fort Caroline. (1)

Return of
the Ships
to France.

When the fort had been practically finished, those ships which had brought the settlers over made ready to return to France. On July 28th they left the River May for this purpose. The French soldiers were now left in their fort, without ships, on a strange coast and among a strange race of savages. Saturiona, the Indian chief in the vicinity, treated them well and soon after the departure of the vessels for France this potentate came to visit Laudonnière and to effect a renewal of the Frenchman's promise to be a friend to Saturiona's friends and an enemy to his enemies. For a time it seemed that the French colony would prosper and the probabilities are that it would have, had it not been for a dissension among the soldiers themselves.

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1. See Appendix II for French original of this description.
Gaffarel, pp.58-59.
Le Moyne de Morgues, pp.3-4.
Charlevoix, vol. I, p.39.

Mutiny.

While Laudonniere was beginning to make allies among the Indians and to impress upon them the power and importance of the French, there arose a clique among his men which soon caused a definite split in the French ranks. According to his own story, it would seem that a certain La Roquette was the ringleader of the whole affair. He was of the province of Perigort and a man possessed of an unusual conversational ability. He gave those who would listen to him to understand that he was a magician, and that due to the powers of magic, he had discovered a mine of gold and silver in a mountain a ways up the river. He swore that upon his life each soldier could take out in the rough the value of ten thousand crowns, not counting the fifteen hundred thousand crowns which would be the part sent back to the king. One can imagine the effect this statement would have on a group of men whose belief in magic was probably quite strong and who had come to this isolated part of the world to find some deposits of mineral wealth as the charlatan La Roquette had described to them. We should not consider them as entirely foolish when we take these things into consideration, and also when we realize the fact that the Indians whom they encountered wore gold ornaments, thus leading color to the belief that somewhere in the neighborhood were mines of this precious metal.

Many of the soldiers allied themselves with La Roquette and his confederate, Le Genre. It seems that this latter had a grudge against Laudonniere who had refused to permit him to take dispatches to France, and he now resolved on revenge. Accordingly he circulated among the soldiers already bribed by La Roquette the rumor that Laudonniere wished

to frustrate their designs for enriching themselves, and he would see that they were kept at work every day without allowing them to go in search of the mine. He urged them to consider their situation, and suggested that there would be nothing better to do than to rid the country of Laudonnière, and to elect a new captain in his place if he did not give free rein to their desires. He himself interviewed Laudonnière, and petitioned him in the name of the soldiers to allow them to go and search for this fabulous mine. Laudonnière made answer that in the first place all could not go, and that it was necessary before leaving to put the fortress in such a condition that those who remained would be secure against the Indians who might surprise them. To the others he said that the manner of the whole affair seemed strange to him, for it would appear that their first thought was not the service of their prince but the gratification of their own personal avarice. Seeing that the commandant's main concern was for the security and defense of the fortress, they consulted awhile among themselves and then finally brought out an ensign of old linen which they were wont to put upon the rampart while working there. They also carried their arms, a thing which Laudonnière thought was done in order to encourage them to work all the more securely, but the real motive for this action, however, as he later learned from the confession of Genre himself, was to shoot himself (Laudonnière) and his lieutenant if by any chance they had a false purpose.

To make matters worse, Laudonnière fell sick about the 20th of September due to becoming overheated while helping his men cut wood for the fort. This gave the conspirators the chance they had been waiting for. They adjourned to the woods where they considered the election of another captain

and the killing of Laudonnière. For some reason they seemed to lack the boldness to execute the design themselves, so they approached the apothecary trying to convince him to mix some fatal drug in the medicine which he was preparing for their stricken captain, but the apothecary refused to be party to such a plot as also did the master of the war materials. Thus frustrated, they resolved on a more desperate stroke; they decided to place a barrel of gunpowder under Laudonnière's bed and, by spilling out a trail of powder to the door of his quarters, they would set the fuse unseen and blow their captain to bits. The conspirators were not successful in their undertaking, and soon the affair was made known to Laudonnière and the ringleader, Le Genre, took to the woods. About this time a French ship arrived, and Le Genre had prepared a report concerning the alleged misgovernment of Laudonnière which he transmitted to a certain gentleman who showed it to Laudonnière himself.

The commandant knew how to take advantage of the situation and so, when the seamen from the ship and the soldiers from the fort were assembled, he read the charge of Le Genre to them, and appealed to the honesty of his men to refute them. The men, let it be said to their credit, roundly denied the charges contained in the missive, and for the time Laudonnière was exonerated, and Le Genre admitted his guilt and threw himself upon the mercy of his captain. (1)

1. Laudonnière, pp.110-115.

TroublesIncrease

This was by no means the end of discontent and conspiracy. Some time after this (1) there arose another group of malcontents, led by a worthy named Fourneaux. These gentlemen had conceived the idea of seizing a few vessels which had been constructed at the fort for the purpose of exploring the rivers in the vicinity and proceeding with them to the Spanish Main where they would be able to engage in piracy by preying upon the rich Spanish galleons. Of course they knew that Laudonniere would prevent their setting out, so they determined on violence. Now, it so happened that many of the soldiers of the fort were away at the time engaged in a gold hunting expedition in the distant mountains of Georgia, so that the time was opportune. They determined, therefore, to strike quickly at night; to cut the throat of Captain La Caille, kill certain of the other officers and to threaten Laudonniere, whom they would hold prisoner until their escape was assured. Le Moyne says that he was informed of this phase of the plot by a Norman gentleman named De Pompierre, who warned him that he had best be out of the way if he valued his life. He at once went home and told La Caille what he had heard, this officer immediately took to his heels and hid himself in the woods.

At midnight Fourneaux armed with his cuirass and carrying an arquebuse in his hand, and having twenty arquebuisers along with him, went to

1. Le Moyne de Morgues whom I have followed in this narration of the second mutiny gives no definite date for its outbreak and it is very easy to confuse his account, at least in some particulars, with the account of Laudonniere which details a different uprising.

Laudonnière's bedside. He laid his knife on the captain's throat, put fetters on his feet and ordered him to be confined to the ship. They then took the keys of the armory and storehouse, put some of the others in chains and forced Laudonnière to sign a document demanding provisions of the officers of the king of Spain.

Taking possession of the shallops which had been built for exploration they launched on a piratical venture to New Spain. In the meantime Laudonnière was released and with those soldiers still loyal to him he held the fort.

The would-be pirates were for a time successful, but eventually some of them were captured by the Spaniards off the Cuban coast, placed in chains and sold as slaves in Spain and Portugal. The others finally came back to Fort Caroline where Laudonnière and his faithful men put them in irons. Upon this occasion the captain addressed a very eloquent speech to them reminding them of the purpose for which the colony was founded, what had been expected of them in Florida in the way of service to the king and showing them how they had fallen short of the trust that had been placed in them. He then condemned them to be hanged for mutiny. Thus finally did the pirates of Fort Caroline come to their end, but Spain did not forget this assault on her territories and began to look upon this settlement at Fort Caroline as a potential nest of freebooters. (1)

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1. Gaffarel, pp.89-105.
Charlevoix, p.64.
Le Moyne de Morgues, pp.6-9.
Laudonnière, pp.125-126.

Famine

Revolt was not the worst of the evils that descended upon the unfortunate little French colony. Soon famine, too, raised its head. The Frenchmen had expected a supply ship from the mother country about the end of May, 1565. Relying on this, the soldiers devoured most of their rations, and by April it became apparent that the food supply was so low that a half rationing would be necessary even before May. It had been the custom of the French to trade with the Indians, giving them certain ornaments and cheap cloths in exchange for food, but during the spring months the Indians were accustomed to desert their homes and to go into the interior on the hunt. Not an Indian could be found in the vicinity of Fort Caroline at this time. Finally in the month of May the Frenchmen were reduced to the necessity of living on roots and on whatever small game could be found in the vicinity. The Indians returned, however, and the French bartered with them securing by presents a greater part of their fish, millet and their other stores. This famine lasted throughout the whole month of May and into mid June, during which time the soldiers found it very difficult to work and spent much of their time on sentinel duty atop a small hillock watching for the expected aid from France, but no ship arrived.

In desperation the inhabitants of the fort decided to fit out a ship in which to return to France. While some were engaged in this occupation, Laudonnière and others went inland to search for food, but being unsuccessful and famished, they were forced to seek out the Indians who were on a hunting expedition, and beg to trade some of their possessions for food. The Indians, of course, took advantage of the plight of the French as all crafty traders would. They showed them their fish, and when the famished

Frenchmen would offer some trinket in exchange, the crafty Indian would demand more, oftentimes asking for the victim's shirt. If he would protest at the excessive price that was being demanded, the Indian would reply brusquely, "if you put such value on your merchandise, eat it and we will eat our fish." (1)

The work on the ship progressed very slowly because of the physical weakness both of the soldiers and the laborers. The men became desperate for food and were reduced to mere skeletons. One man, it is recorded, broke into Laudonnière's house and taking all the remains of fish that he could find, dried them out and ground them into powder with which to make bread. Laudonnière himself remarks that it was very fortunate that the Indians did not take it into their heads to rise up against the French, for if they had they would have encountered very feeble resistance. (2)

Arrival Of John Hawkins While affairs at the fort were going from bad to worse and food was becoming more scarce, Laudonnière made it his custom to watch for any vessels that might appear on the horizon. On the 3rd of August he sighted from the sand dune four sails which gradually came closer until he was able to recognize the outlines of four ships heading towards the mouth of the River May. There was much joy at the fort upon news of these ships, for it was believed that they were the long hoped for French relief. But this was belied by the fact that they stopped off shore some distance, dropped

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1. "Si tu fais si grand cas de ta marchandise, mange la et nous mangerons nostre poisson." Laudonnière, p.145.
 2. Ibid., pp.144-155.
Gaffarel, pp.119-140.
Le Moyne de Morgues, pp.14-15.
Charlevoix, vol. 1, p.56.

their anchors and sent one of their small boats towards the land. The French sent an armed group to the beach to see what manner of men were approaching, to determine whether they were Spaniards; for if such were the case, they would probably have to withstand a siege in their fort. However, the group sent to the seashore returned and reported that the vessels were English, under the command of Captain John Hawkins, and guided by the French pilot Martin Atinas who had sailed with the ill-fated colony of Ribaut to Charlesfort in 1562. The English proved very friendly, giving Laudonnière two flagons of wine and some wheat bread. He divided these provisions among his soldiers. The next day a large company of these Englishmen landed on shore, they were well dressed, carried no arms, and brought large quantities of bread and wine to give to every soldier. In return for this Laudonnière killed some sheep and chickens which he had been guarding carefully up to this time for breeding purposes. The news of the coming of the English brought embassies from all the Indian chiefs throughout the peninsula. They came to look at the strangers, and asked Laudonnière in wonderment if he and Hawkins were not brothers.

The English Captain was well aware of the desire which Laudonnière had of returning to France, and to this end offered him passage not only for himself but for all his soldiers. Laudonnière was in a quandary whether to accept this offer or not, since he was ignorant of the actual state of affairs between France and England. Finally Laudonnière refused him flatly, at which there was a great murmur among his men who said that he would have them die and that the brigantine which they had planned would not be large enough to make the passage to France considering the

advance of the season. The discord grew until it became necessary for Laudonnière to reconsider the offer. Captain Hawkins offered to sell him one of his ships, and at the news of this the French soldiers threatened that if Laudonnière did not accept Captain Hawkins' offer, they would embark with the English and leave their captain stranded in this savage country. Considering the situation as it was, there was really nothing left for Laudonnière to do but to accept the offer and to buy the ship which Hawkins was willing to sell for 700 crowns. It was agreed that Laudonnière would pay him the sum of two bastardes, a thousand weight of iron and a thousand weight of gunpowder, besides some other miscellaneous articles. When this transaction was completed, Captain Hawkins considering that the French were in great need and that their soldiers were barefoot, sent them fifty pairs of shoes as well as twenty barrels of flour, six vats of beans, a quantity of salt and a hundred weight of wax with which to make candles. Later he also gave the French a large jar of oil, a butt of vinegar, a barrel of olives, a large quantity of rice, and a barrel of white biscuits; he made presents to each of the French officers according to his rank. At length Hawkins departed after having received water and having taken leave of the grateful French.

Shortly after Hawkins' departure, the French were ready to set sail. But before going they were approached by some of the Indian chieftains in the vicinity who asked them to leave the fort intact and to give them some of the smaller boats to defend themselves. Laudonnière complied

with their request in order to retain their friendship to the last. (1)

Coming Of
Ribaut

While Laudonnière's men were suffering from their own treachery as well as from lack of provisions, their compatriots in France had not forgotten them. In that country the year 1565 saw a cessation in the long and weary period of civil wars. De Coligny, the Huguenot leader, profited by this peace to obtain from Charles IX authorization for a third voyage into Florida. Ribaut, who was in England at the time, was chosen as general in chief of this expedition. He had more knowledge of Florida and the Florida coast than probably any other man in France, and at the first appeal from De Coligny he crossed the channel to take charge of this new expedition. (2) As a central point of meeting for volunteers, as well as a port of embarkation, the town of Dieppe was chosen.

Due to the news that had been received from Florida concerning the unsettled state of the colony, and also because of a sincere desire the French had of planting a permanent colony there, it was decided to send, besides soldiers and artisans, a large number of young married people. It is estimated, according to Popellinière in Gaffarel that there were about seven hundred men and approximately two hundred women who volunteered for this expedition.

May 10th, 1565, was the date upon which this band left France, but they remained in the roadstead of Dieppe until the 22nd to complete the provisioning of their fleet. Then a tempest came up which blew them towards

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1. Laudonnière, pp170-177.
Gaffarel, pp.135-140.
Le Moyne de Morgues, p.15.
Charlevoix, vol. 1, p.39.
 2. Gaffarel, p.141.

Havre where they stayed for three days and were then again buffeted by the winds, this time towards the Isle of Wight in the English Channel. Finally on June 14th a favorable wind came up, and they sailed for Florida where they arrived on August 13th. It would seem that they first saw the coastline far to the south of Fort Caroline which they did not reach until August 27th when their ships La Trinité (The Trinity), La Union (The Union), La Truite (The Trout), L'Epaule de Mouton (The Shoulder of Mutton) and La Perle (The Pearl) pulled up to the mouth of the River May. (1).

Displacement Laudonnière's large boat was beyond the bar waiting for favor-
Of
Laudonnière able winds to return to France , his smaller boats were in the river waiting to cast off when suddenly sails were discovered on the sea. Immediately he ordered a vessel to reconnoitre and to determine who these strangers were. The ships gave chase to Laudonnière's larger vessel which finally fell in line and followed them to the river mouth. At sight of this from a distance Laudonnière gave orders to his men to arm for he feared the strangers were Spaniards who had captured his vessel and were now coming to attack the fort. The next morning about 8 or 9 o'clock he observed seven ships, among which was his own, filled with soldiers, enter the river. Soon the troops disembarked and marched along the coast, passing his sentinels without giving them any reply. One of the sentinels fired an arquebuse, at the sound of which Laudonnière was sure the invaders were Spaniards; to prevent their coming any further, he sent men in their direction, meanwhile loading the two cannons which he had on the fort. However,

1. Gaffarel, p.146.

Le Challeux, Nicholas, "Duxieme Voyage du Dieppoise Jean Ribaut a la Floride" pp.15-16.

Ternaux-Compans, p.239.

the party upon coming to the fort cried out that they were under Captain Ribaut, and shortly afterwards Ribaut himself made his appearance.

Ribaut's explanation for this strange method of arrival was that he was uncertain as to the reception he might receive from Laudonnière. Unfavorable reports had come back to France in the first ships from Florida, it was rumored that Laudonnière had endeavored to make himself a great king and an autocrat in this new wilderness and it was feared that he might endeavor to resist any authority coming from the homeland. (1)

Having recognized Ribaut, Laudonnière ordered that he be saluted by the firing of a cannon as well as by the discharge of the arquebuses. He then received him into his house and was much pleased to identify in the group many of his old friends from France. At this treatment, and seeing that things were not as they had been represented in the fort, Ribaut did not arrest Laudonnière as he had orders to do, but instead addressed him in the following manner: "My Captain, we praise God that we have found you alive, and especially that we have been given to know that the reports which have been made of you are false."

Ribaut, as we have remarked before, was given command, not only of the expedition but also of Fort Caroline, with the intention of displacing Laudonnière. He received this appointment from De Coligny in a letter which he proceeded to read to Laudonnière and which we give in the free

1. Laudonnière, pp.179-181.

English translation as follows: "Captain Laudonnière, because some of those who have returned from Florida speak rather disparagingly of the country, the king desires your return, in order that, according to the effect you have (upon him) he may resolve to spend a great deal of money there or let the whole affair go: and for that reason I am sending Captain Jean Ribaut to command there, to whom you will deliver all that you have in charge, and you will instruct him in all that you might have learned." In a postscript appended to the letter De Coligny remarks, "Do not think that this was sent to you as a complaint or through dissatisfaction which I might entertain of you, but it is for your good and honor, and I assure you that all my life you will have a good master in me. (Signed) Chastillon.

(1)

Shortly after the receipt of this letter, Laudonnière left for France, and if it had not been for the intervention of the Spaniards which we shall recount shortly, Florida might have become French Huguenot territory. For, if one can read between the lines of the letter we have quoted above, it is evident that Charles IX was considering seriously a French foothold in the new world, but New France was not to be in Florida, due, first to the Spaniards and, second, to the religious wars in the homeland. With the former we shall now proceed to concern ourselves, but with the long dreary civil wars of France we cannot burden our readers.

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1. For original French text of this letter, see Appendix III.
Gaffarel, p.147.
Le Moyne de Morgues, p.15.
Charlevoix, vol.i, p.59.

CHAPTER IVTHE COMING OF THE SPANIARDSAUGUST 1563

Philip II Rarely has there been a man in Christendom so endowed as was Philip II. The son of Charles V, he fell heir to the vast domains of Spain in both the Americas, as well as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; besides this he also inherited the militant, spiritual, crusading zeal of his nation. For Philip, unlike his father, was Spanish to the core; he had been born in Spain, educated there, and imbued with all Spanish traditions.

His Character Personally, Philip seems to impress history as a man of gloomy disposition, leading an almost cloistered life in the great monastery church of the Escorial, rarely seen by his subjects, rarely coming out of the monastic walls, rarely even leaving his chambers except to hear mass from his own private gallery, but this life of austerity did not leave the Spanish monarch without a certain element of fire and passion in his being. He regarded himself as a protector of Catholicism against all heresies, wherever they might arise. To this end was all the ardor of his nature directed until his zeal assumed some of the characteristics of fanaticism. His activity in banishing the Moriscos, his conduct of the famous Inquisition have earned for him a terrible reputation in the annals of the sixteenth century.

Environmental Influence upon him. Undoubtedly this cast of character which Philip evinced, this crusading fervor which he manifested, was in some measure at least imposed upon him by circumstances. We must remember

that he was faced most of his life with that long and stubborn rebellion in the Low Countries or Holland. These revolts, as we know, were the result of machinations not only on the part of the Dutch Protestants who were the leaders, but also on the part of the English who wished to weaken the power of Spain and on the part, too, of the French Huguenots whose sympathy with their suffering brothers in Holland was hardly greater than their hate for the Catholic power which was oppressing them. Realizing these things as he did, Philip could not help but identify his own interests with the interests of the church. He could not fail to see in the English Protestants and in the French Huguenots enemies not only to his religion but also to the political supremacy of Spain. (1)

His Concern For Florida

As we have mentioned before (2) Philip II was greatly disturbed over the news which he had received of the settlement of the French at Port Royal in 1562. He feared designs upon the territory of Florida, and his fears were all the more strengthened by a communication which he received from his spy, Cardinal Granvelle, then at Vienna, who told him that the French had made another settlement in Florida and had constructed two forts there, entrenching themselves in such a way that it would not be easy to dislodge them. He urged his master to act for the preservation of Spanish power before it was too late. (3)

Reasons For Attack on the French

Philip resolved to heed Granvelle's advice and to drive out the French colony from the land of Florida. But the first difficulty to be encountered in the maturing of this project was that there

1. For an interesting discussion of the character of Philip II, see the "Histoire Generale" of E. Lavisse and A. Rambaud, 12 vols., Paris 1893-1905 Vol. V, pp. 78-79. (2.) Chapter I, p. 22. (3) Appendix I

was peace between France and Spain. However, the state of peace did not have the same weight in the sixteenth century as it is supposed to have in the twentieth; the councillors of Philip, de Feria, de Albe, Antonio Perez, and Espinosa, knew human nature too well to suppose that Charles IX himself or any of the members of the court of Valois would be disturbed by the ruining of an enterprise begun under the auspices of De Coligny. Even if war did come, it would be better for Spain than that she should be exposed to the danger of a political and commercial rivalry engineered by France in America. But if by chance Charles IX should take the part of his subjects in any active manner, the Spanish court had two excellent reasons to justify its actions before the world. In the first place the French sent to Florida were practically all Calvinists which would be, to say in sixteenth century Spanish parlance, that they were ipso facto worthy of death; this was especially true since they had established themselves on Spanish soil and could be looked upon as fillibusterers. The second, and in that day at least equally cogent, reason was that legally Florida was Spanish. Especially was this true in regard to the peninsula upon which this second colony was planted. We have shown how Spain's claim was fortified by the numerous expeditions which we have recounted. Thus since this territory was by right of exploration, conquest and attempted colonization, Spanish, any foreigner, according to sixteenth century custom, who established himself there without the authority of the king could be treated as an illegal trespasser.

In truth, the appearances of justice were on the side of Philip II. He had not only the political motive for launching this expedition

against the French but, moreover, he had by this very expedition fulfilled his duty as he conceived it, of defender of the church. (1)

Pedro Menendez De Aviles The man whom Philip chose to command this expedition of conquest and colonization in the New World was Pedro Menendez, a native of Aviles in Spain. He had distinguished himself in his service to the king in Flanders, and had accompanied his sovereign to England upon his betrothal to Queen Mary. (2) In 1560 Menendez had been general of the fleet to New Spain. Upon his return, he received instructions to explore the coast north of the future site of Port Royal. It was his signal fortune again in 1561 to command the fleet, but upon his return from the New World he lost his son and one of his vessels in a hurricane. When he reached Spain his desire was to fit out more ships and search for his son whom he believed to have been washed upon the coast of Florida and possibly to have been taken prisoner by the Indians.

He Receives A Patent Eventually, in 1564, Menendez solicited permission of the king to proceed with two vessels to Bermuda and Florida for the purpose of seeking his son, after which he desired to retire to his home at Aviles which he had not seen for eighteen years. Philip, in consenting to this expedition, also urged Menendez to survey the bays and inlets on the Florida coast and to prepare charts which would prevent the numerous shipwrecks which had been taking place there. On March 22nd, 1565, he received a patent, or rather a series of four patents, which provided as follows:

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1. Gaffarel, pp. 155-159.
 2. Ruidaz y Caravia, Eugenio, "La Florida, Su Conquista y Colonizacion" 2 vols., Madrid, Imp. de los Hijos de J.A. Garcia, 1893. vol. i.

1. He was to sail in May with ten vessels carrying arms and supplies and five hundred men, one hundred to be capable of cultivating the soil.
2. He was to take provisions to maintain the whole force for a year.
3. He was to conquer and settle Florida within three years.
4. He was to explore and map the coast.
5. He was to transport settlers, a certain number of whom were to be married.
6. He was to maintain twelve members of religious orders as missionaries, four of whom were to be Jesuits.
7. He was to introduce horses, black cattle, sheep and swine.
8. He received the title of "Adelantado" (governor) of Florida, a personal grant of twenty five leagues square with the title of "Marquis" and the office of Captain General of Florida. (1)

However, before Menendez had set out from Spain, the court received news, as we have stated before, that the French had started a colony in the territory of Florida. Upon receipt of this information, Menendez was summoned to the royal presence and instructed by the king that he was to be furnished with three fully equipped vessels in America, and with an expeditionary force of two hundred cavalry and four hundred infantry. (2)

Menendez' We have mentioned before, and at considerable length, the Attitude
Toward The attitude which the Spanish government officials had toward
French the French colonists. But of the personal attitude of Menendez we have said nothing. He it was who was entrusted with the task of doing away with French influence in Florida, and the viewpoint of men of his class, as well

1. Ruidaz y Caravia, vol.ii, pp.351-359. For original text of these patents see Appendix II
2. Shea in Winsor, vol.ii, pp261-262.

as his own personal feelings, are interesting to note. It would seem that the usual light in which Spaniards, especially those engaged in commerce and colonies, looked upon the French Protestants was simply that of pirates. They had experienced piracy at French hands. For example, in the year 1555 Jacques Sorie surprised Havana, plundered it, burned it and butchered all the prisoners who fell into his hands. In 1559 Megander pillaged Puerto Rico and Jean de la Roche plundered the ships and settlements near Cartagena. (1) Menendez himself, in writing to the Casa de Contratacion or the colonial office at Seville concerning the sack of Havana, says: "They burned it (Havana), with all the town and church, and put to death all the inhabitants they found, and the rest fled to the mountains; so that nothing remained in the town that was not burned, and there was not an inhabitant left alive or dwelling there. (2)

Consequently, considering the wrongs which we have enumerated and which the Spaniards had suffered at the hands of the French, and remembering from the last chapter how certain of the Frenchmen went off to the West Indies from Fort Caroline on a piratical expedition, it is undoubtedly true that Menendez felt that what he was about to do was right not only for religious reasons but also for the very material end of protecting his countries colonies in the New World from outlawry.

The Finally all things were ready for the voyage, and on June
Crossing
29th, 1565, the squadron left the harbor of Cadiz with eleven vessels. (3)

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1. Shea in Winsor, vol.ii, p.262.
 2. Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos Para la Historia de las Indias, vol. xxii, p.242. (Madrid 1864-1884) Quotation is from "Memorial de Pedro Menendez de Aviles a S.M. sobre los Agradios que recibio de los Oficiales de la Casa de Contratacion 1564." (3) Ranson, Manuscript p.48.

On Wednesday, July 5th they arrived at the Canary Islands, 250 leagues from Cadiz, where a stop was made for three days to lay in wood and water. Here they remained until July 8th, when they set sail for Dominica. After voyaging for almost a month they arrived at this island about 9 P.M. on the night of Sunday, August 5th, where they stopped and obtained more fresh water. From Dominica they passed through the Virgin Islands, and finally landed at the port of San Juan in Puerto Rico on Friday, August 10th. There they purchased twenty four horses and a ship to transport fifty men. (1)

But as soon as they had set sail, the ship which they had purchased sprung a leak, and to save the men they were constrained to throw overboard, first, the merchandise, then the horses, so that by the time they arrived at Florida they had only one horse. Before leaving Puerto Rico, they learned to their chagrin that their dispatch ship, which had been sent from Spain to Santo Domingo and Havana carrying sealed orders for the conquest of Florida and other private governmental dispatches for the New World, had been captured by a French vessel off Mona Island, and all the dispatches taken by the French who also did not refrain from taking whatever else they desired. (2) Since the Spaniards already knew of the existence of a French colony in Florida, it was evident that when they arrived there, they could now expect to find the French prepared to meet them.

Still, with all this knowledge, they continued on their course,

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1. Ruidaz y Caravia, vol. ii, pp.70-74 containing a letter from Menendez dated at Puerto Rico August 13th, 1565.
 2. Mendoza Grajales, Chaplain of the Expedition, whose account is translated in Shipp's "De Soto and Florida" pp.544-546.

and on Friday, August 17th, they arrived at Santo Domingo. From thence they proceeded through the Bahama Channel, thus hoping to elude the French. On August 20th they passed the Bahama Islands, during which passage one of the ships ran aground, while another filled with water. However, they were fortunate enough to extricate themselves from this difficulty, and on August 28th they actually sighted the coast of Florida.(1) On the 29th they coasted along towards the north in search of the enemy and for a good harbor in which to anchor. On Monday, August 30th, they were assailed by bad weather and forced to anchor. They remained in this position for four days, and in the meantime a party was sent ashore to reconnoiter. They met a band of Indians who informed them that the French were to the north of their present position. (2)

Meeting
With The
French

A few days later either the 3rd or the 5th of September the fleet, having taken a northern course, descried four French vessels anchored at the mouth of a river. (3) This was two hours before sunset. Menendez arranged a plan with the captains and pilots whereby the flagship, San Pelayo, and a shallop were to attack the French gally. The Spanish manouvered to a place nearer the French vessels and cast anchor about eight paces from them. The other vessels took up positions near the

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1. Mendoza in Shipp, p.547.
Ibid in Ternaux-Compans pp.165-194.
Charlevoix, Vol.i, pp.64-67.
 2. Mendoza in Shipp, p.548.
 3. There is some dispute as to the actual date, Gaffarel in his "Histoire de la Floride Francaise," p.153, gives Sept.3rd as the date of meeting; but Mendoza Grajales, in his account of the voyage, maintains that the date was Wednesday, Sept.5th, this is probably the more authentic date, as his account is in diary form.

enemy ships, and during all these operations not a word was said on either side. Mendoza Grajales remarked that never in his life had he noticed a period of such complete silence. (1)

At length Menendez inquired of the French galley "whence did this fleet come?" They replied "from France." "What are you doing here," asked the general, "this is the territory of King Philip II, I order you to leave directly; for I neither know who you are or what you want here." The French commander replied "I am bringing soldiers and supplies to the fort of the King of France." He then asked the name of the general of the fleet, and Menendez replied, "I am Pedro Menendez de Aviles, Captain General of the King of Spain, who have come to hang all Lutherans I find here." Menendez then asked him the name of his commander, and the Frenchman replied "Lord Gasto." (2)

While this was going on, a long boat was sent from the galley to the flagship. The person charged with this errand managed to do it so secretly that the Spaniards could not hear what was being said, except that they understood the reply of the French to be "I am the admiral." This answer made them think that the French were willing to surrender as they were in such small force, but scarcely had they made this reply when they slipped their cables, spread their sails and passed through the midst of the Spanish fleet. (3)

1. Mendoza Grajales in Ternaux Compans, pp.197-200.

2. Shea in Winsor, vol.ii, pp.263-264.

Ruidaz y Caravia, vol.ii, pp.74-84, especially pp.76-77 containing the letter of Menendez, dated Sept. 11, 1565.

3. Mendoza Grajales in Shipp, p.549.

The Spanish immediately followed and began discharging shot at the receding French who refused on demand to lower their sails. But notwithstanding all the shot they fired, the Spanish could not sink one of their ships, they chased each other all night until by morning a great storm had arisen. The Spaniards feared shipwreck, so they kept their vessels about a league and a half from shore all day. Although they had double moorings, one of the ships broke loose and drifted out to sea. Late in the afternoon the French flagship which they had fired on the night before came towards them as if to attack them, but instead it anchored between the Spaniards and the shore. After a consultation during the night, the Spanish, fearing that their galley had been washed out to sea, decided to withdraw quietly to a river a little distance south of the French colony, where they would build a fort and await assistance. (1)

Impression Made On The French Let us go back to the French at Fort Caroline. When the Spanish ships first hove in sight on the horizon about two hours before sunset, some soldiers were walking upon the beach and were the first landmen to be aware of their presence. They sent one of their number to Ribaut, who shortly after came down to the shore. When he saw the French ships cutting their anchors and going out to sea, he ordered all the small craft to be ready and he placed five or six hundred arquebusers on the shore prepared to embark if needed. The French, realized, when they saw their vessels cutting their cables, that these strange ships were Spanish ships. They watched them from the shore line, pursuing each other and firing, until they

1. Mendoza Grajales in Shipp, p.550
Charlevoix, vol.i, pp.67-70.

were well out of sight. There then ensued during the night a long period of fretful anxiety for the inhabitants of Fort Caroline.

The next morning the watchers on shore perceived the French ships slowly returning, and those on board signalled for those on land to come out to them. But Ribaut forbade anyone to go out for fear the ships had been captured during the night by the Spaniards who might now be in control of them. Finally, however, seeing that those on shore did not heed them, those on board the ship dispatched a sailor with a letter, who swam to shore and handed his communication to Ribaut. It was from Captain Cosette, the French commander, and read as follows: "M.de Ribaud-Yesterday at 4 P.M. a Spanish fleet of eight ships hove in sight, six of which cast anchor near us. Seeing that they were Spaniards, we cut cables and made sail; and they immediately made sail in chase, and pursued us all night, firing many guns at us. Finding, however, that they could not come upon us, they have made a landing five or six miles below, putting on shore a great number of negroes with spades and mattocks. On this state of facts, please to act as you shall see fit." (1) It was now evident to the French that the Spaniards were bound to plant a colony and to dispute, not only by force of arms but by right of settlement, their possession of Florida.

Founding The Spaniards in the meanwhile, at daybreak of September 6th,
of
St. Augustine 1565, sailed towards the vessel which the French had anchored between them and the coast, as we have mentioned, but as they were in the act of doing so, they perceived another French vessel approaching them, which upon closer inspection proved to be the galley which they had been

1. Le Moynes des Morgues, pp.15-16.
2. Laudonnière, p.189. For French text concerning above see Appendix III.

pursuing. They made their way towards this galley, thus deceiving the French and getting free on the high seas. They then began to search the coast towards the south, and finally found the Seloy, or River of Dolphins (as the French named it). There they found their galley and another vessel which had arrived there before them. At this spot they landed two companies of infantry which were well received by the Indians, who gave them a large house which had belonged to a chief. As soon as they had disembarked, the Spaniards began to dig entrenchments and to throw up an earthworks. Then they commenced to take their guns and cannons off the ship, these operations lasting through Thursday, September 6th, and Friday, September 7th. On Saturday, September 8th, Menendez himself landed amidst salutes of artillery, the sounding of trumpets and the chanting of the Te Deum. He was pleased with the fortifications, and named the place San Augustin, a name which this settlement has ever since borne. (1)

Seriousness of the Situation. The Spaniards had played their trump card against the French. They had sent an expedition to Florida which had landed and founded a settlement. This new colony was close enough to the French to cause trouble at the slightest provocation. Its commander was imbued with a strong personal hatred against the French, his nation was heartily opposed

1. Shea in Winsor, pp.265-270

Ruidaz y Caravia, vol. ii, pp.77-79, contains letter of Menendez dated September 11, 1565.

Gaffarel, pp.186-187.

Mendoza-Grajales in Ternaux-Compans, pp.203-206.

Mendoza-Grajales in Shipp, pp.549-550

Charlevoix, vol.i, p.71.

to Protestantism, and regarded these Frenchmen as usurpers. Thus it took merely the impatience or the irritability of one or the other of the captains, either on the French or Spanish side, to start hostilities, the outcome of which would be decisive.

CHAPTER V.EXTERMINATION BY THE SPANISH.

Plans of
the French.

The note which Captain Cosette had sent to Ribaut caused deep consternation throughout the little French colony. Ribaut saw the danger of the situation, and at once called council of his chief officers, among them Captains LaGrange, Saincte-Marie, Ottigny, Visty, Yonville and other gentlemen. In the deliberations it was evident that the more prudent part of the assembly was in favor of finishing the fort, while Laudonnière's men, who knew the country better than the later arrivals, should be sent against the Spaniards. But Ribaut, who had lately been installed in command, had another plan. He produced a letter which he had received from DeColigny before leaving France. It contained a postscript in the great Huguenot's own handwriting which read as follows: "Captain Jean Ribaut: On closing this letter, I have received certain news that Don Pedro Menendez is leaving Spain for the purpose of going to the coast of New France. Take care that he does not encroach upon us any more than he should wish that we encroach upon them." (1)

From this communication, Ribaut reasoned that if the former plan were adopted, the Spaniards would not await an assault, but would escape aboard ship, and the French would lose their opportunity of destroying those who were seeking to destroy them. He then proposed his own plan which was to put all the soldiers on board the four French ships, and to seize the

(1) For French text of this note, see Appendix I.

Spanish ships at once where they were anchored. When the ships were captured, the Spaniards would then have no refuge but their fort which the slaves were building for them, and it would be a very easy matter to attack them by land. Laudonniere was sick in bed at the time, but from his bed he had energy enough to oppose this plan. He knew the climate of the country, and was well aware of the hurricanes at that time of the year. All the others of the council agreed with him. However, Ribaut remained obstinate in his plan, and, since he was the captain, his views prevailed. He proceeded to commandeer not only his own men but Laudonniere's captain and ensign as well. Then all Laudonniere's men, seeing their captain and ensign going with Ribaut, clamored to be included in the company, so that finally the garrison left at the fort was very small indeed.

LeMoyne tells us that he accompanied the expedition going to attack the Spaniards. They waited for three days before a favorable wind came up, and then, as they were about to depart, Ribaut ordered the captains to inspect their men. When D'Ottigny saw that LeMoyne's wounds which he had received in an Indian skirmish were not yet healed, he was sent back to the fort in company with a tailor who was at work on some clothing for Ribaut. Just as these two returned, a terrific storm broke, and the French ships were driven to the south about fifty miles, where they were wrecked on some shoals. (1)

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1. LeMoyne des Morgues, pp.16-17.
Laudonniere, pp.103-194.
Charlevoix, vol.i, pp.70-71.

Preparationsat the
French Fort.

things since his garrison had been weakened by Ribaut's expedition. His alarm increased as he realized the magnitude of the storm which was breaking on the Florida coast. According to the Indians, this storm was one of the worst they had ever seen in these regions. Finally, as the storm lasted two or three days, Laudonnière began to entertain genuine fears as to the safety of those who had gone with Ribaut. Calling Du Lys, one of his lieutenants, to him, he asked him to order all the men to be assembled in order to show them the danger of their position and the necessity that there was of making the most of their defences. Upon inspection, it was found that of all those who were in the fort, only sixteen or seventeen were able to bear arms, while the others were either soldiers who were sick or suffering from the Indian wars against Outina, or else women and children. After making this review of his men, Laudonniere did what he could in parcelling out guard duty. It was arranged that the guards would be divided into two squads, so that the soldiers would have one free night. The two squadrons elected corporals of the guard, one squad naming Saint-Clerk and the other LeVigne, to whom the lanterns and the candles were delivered to make the rounds because the weather had continued very murky and rainy. It was hoped that by this method of vigilance any sudden surprise attacks which the Spaniards might be meditating could be discovered in time to be resisted. (1)

(1) Laudonnière, pp.194-195.

Plans of
Menendez.

While the French were taking all these precautions against a possible surprise attack, the Spaniards in their new fortification were not idle. Menendez and his men, during the terrible hurricane, saw the French ships approaching in the storm and observed the sailors working to keep their craft from being beached. (1) The Spanish captain, seeing the large number of men on board the French ship, and feeling they would be wrecked somewhere along the coast, was quite sure of the defenseless condition of Fort Caroline. He accordingly called together a council of his officers and laid before them the necessity of seizing this opportunity to strike at the French. He then explained his plan. It was his intention to take with him five hundred of the best soldiers divided into ten companies of fifty men each, each soldier taking rations for eight days. This little army would penetrate through the jungles and morasses and march directly to Fort Caroline. He himself would lead the march. Then, once in view of Caroline, a sudden attack would be tried. If the French were on their guard, the Spanish would retreat into the forest, and since the French would not dare to follow and attack them in this covered position, the Spaniards could surround the fort, cut off all avenues of escape, send to Santo Domingo for supplies, and enter into a long siege to which the French would be forced to succumb eventually due to the exhaustion of their provisions, but the second part of this plan seemed a trifle too adventurous to the majority of the Spanish officers. They argued that it would scarcely seem probable that the French, who had remained close to the Spaniards so

(1) Ranson, p.52 (manuscript).

many weeks would not have themselves considered some trick for driving out their Spanish enemies. The discussion became hot. Captains Juan de San Vincente, Francisco Recaldo and Juan de Mayo were all very strong in their opposition to the project of Menendez, yet when the proposition was put to vote, it was finally accepted by the majority, notwithstanding the opposition of these leaders. The decision was made on Wednesday, September 12th, and the date set for the beginning of the expedition was Monday, September 17th, the intervening time was to be employed in preparation. (1)

The Massacre

at Fort Caroline. The morning of Monday, September 17th, dawned wet and Sept. 19-20, 1565.

murky, a typical example of the climate of those regions during the equinoctial period. Taking advantage of the weather as an added auxiliary to the success of their venture, the Spaniards, under Menendez, left St. Augustine five hundred strong, but soon the bad weather, the thick forests and the dismal swamps began to discourage the men, many of whom murmured, wishing to return to St. Augustine. In many places the soldiers had to wade through marshes for miles in which the water came up above their waists and sometimes up to their armpits. Day and night the drizzling rain kept falling until a spirit of discontent began to grow among the officers as well as the men. One of the officers remarked, concerning Menendez, that he could not understand how so many brave men would allow themselves to be led into such a

1. Mendoze Grajales in Shipp, pp.550-553.

Shea, J.G., vol. 11, page 271

Gaffarel, p.191.

Ruidaz y Caravia, vol. 1, pp.83-88.

Charlevoix, vol. 1, pp.72-73.

situation by an Austrian mountaineer who knew no more about waging war on land than a horse. Many of the soldiers began to drop back in the rear, and some of them discussed open rebellion and returned to St. Augustine, leaving Menendez and his enthusiasts to wander about in these accursed swamps to their hearts content. But Menendez was not at all the man to be swerved from his purpose by such complaints; he was determined to accomplish what he had set out to do. He addressed his men in somewhat the following fashion: "I believe that we ought to attempt the adventure since we are at the gate of Caroline. If we cannot take the place, we have no reason to fear that our enemies who, according to all appearances, are small in number will entangle themselves in the woods to pursue us, and we shall have there a sure retreat." Since the majority agreed with this opinion, the malcontents were left with no choice but to obey. (1)

Meantime, in the French fort, La Vigne, one of the corporals of the guard, had made his rounds through the inky, rainy night, carrying his lantern and visiting the various sentry posts. As morning approached and as he saw the rain continuing, he had pity on his sentinels who were drenched to the skin. Considering that the Spaniards would not possibly attempt an attack in such miserable weather, he ordered his men to retire to their quarters for the purpose of taking a rest and drying themselves. He himself retired to his lodging for the same refreshment. Just as they had returned to their barracks and had hung their wet clothes by the fireplace to dry, a trumpeter who was making a round of the battlements sounded his trumpet in alarm and shouted that the Spaniards were coming in great force from out

the rain soaked jungle. The trumpeter saw them descending a little hill, and they, on perceiving them, began to charge on the double quick towards the entrance of the fort. Laudonnière rushed from his sick bed out into the square of the fort, holding his sword in his hand and shouting for his soldiers. Some of them rushed out from their quarters clad only in their shirts and armed with swords and pikes. Some of them rushed towards the walls and the breaches which were at the south side of the palisade, and others made for the munitions. But the bolder Spaniards had already entered the fort through these breaches, and were beginning to run all Frenchmen, whom they met, through with their swords. They had been guided by a French traitor whom Le Moyne called Francois Jean, and due to his information they attacked the fort in three places at once. It seemed only a few moments after the first of them had entered when the whole aggregation of them got possession of the central square of the fort and drew up their force there. The captains then marched down the ranks of their men, detailing them into various bands and ordering them to search the soldiers' quarters, sparing no one whom they met. Parties of them then went through the barracks, and there could be heard on all sides the shrieks and groans of those who were being slaughtered. Francois Jean, on leading some of the Spaniards through the buildings, came face to face with Laudonnière, his erstwhile captain; pointing to him, he said to those who followed: "There is the captain." They dealt him some heavy blows with their pikes, but he warded them off with his shield. Seeing that he could not resist them and that the fort was already taken, he dashed to the rear of his lodging through a tent and out through a breach in the west wall. The Spaniards who followed him amused

themselves by slashing at the ropes of the tent. Meanwhile, Laudonnière did not stop running until he had gone some distance into the woods.(1) Another one of the survivors whose narrative comes to our notice is Le Moyne de Morgues. He was in his quarters when two Spanish soldiers kicked open the door and burst in with blood on their swords. Oddly enough, they brushed by him, seeming not to notice him, and began to rummage for loot in the furnishings of the cabin. He lost no time in disappearing from the vicinity of the cabin and making his way in haste, but cautiously, towards one of the embrasures of the fort. Here, he tells us, he had to crawl over the hacked and gory remains of his comrades, many of whom he identified by name. Eventually he gained the woods, and there, after wandering for awhile, met some of the other French refugees. The sorry, bedraggled band took council in the depths of the forest as to what would be their next move. Some suggested that it would be better to remain where they were until the next day, and then give themselves up to the Spaniards rather than be devoured by wild beasts and tormented by poisonous insects. Others thought it better to make their way to some distant Indian settlement, where they might remain for a time. But Le Moyne suggested that they go to the seashore and endeavor to discover the two small vessels which Ribaut used in disembarking the provisions from France. But the others rejected this plan as impractical and went off to find the Indians. Le Moyne later met a soldier by the name of Grand-chemin. They struck out together and proceeded to the seashore, but they could see no sign of any of their ships on the ocean, and at length Grand-

1. Laudonnière, p.197.

chemin suggested that they give themselves up to the Spaniards who would probably spare their lives when they found that they were artificers. On arriving near the fort they heard the Spaniards making a very loud uproar within, at the sound of which Le Moyne refused to go any further. Grandche-min, however, persisted, and went on alone. LeMoyne took refuge in some thick bushes on a high rise of land, and waited to see what would become of his companion. As the Frenchman came down to the fort, the Spaniards saw him approaching, and sent out a party to meet him. He fell on his knees to beg for his life, but in a fury the Spaniards drew their swords, chopped him to pieces and carried off the dismembered fragments of his body on their swords and pikes back to the fort. (1) Le Moyne eventually met Laudonnière, and he, in company with some of his men, reached the ships at the mouth of the St. Johns, and returned to France on the 25th of September. Laudonnière, in assigning a cause for the French loss of Florida, speaks in the following terms: "One thing I will plainly say, that the long delay made by Ribaut on setting out and the fifteen days which it took him to voyage the length of the Florida coast before he found me at Fort Caroline, was really the cause of the loss of Florida."

Triumph Of While the surprised Frenchmen sought refuge in the woods
The Spaniards
 the soldiers of Menendez began to take account of the loot that had fallen into their hands. According to their account there were six vessels on the river at the time of their arrival. One large unfinished galley and another vessel which had just discharged a cargo of rich merchandise had been sunk

at the entrance to the bar in order to blockade the harbor, for the French feared the Spaniards would come by sea. Another vessel laden with wine and merchandise was near the port, but on sight of the Spaniards she refused to surrender and spread her sails. However, the Spanish commandeered the guns of the fort and fired upon her, sinking her in a rather shallow place where neither the ship nor the cargo was lost. In the fort itself they obtained much valuable booty, among which Mendoza Grajales has enumerated the following: two hundred pikes, a hundred and twenty helmets, a quantity of arquebuses and shields, a quantity of clothing, linen, fine cloths, two hundred tons of flour, a good many barrels of biscuit, two hundred bushels of wheat, three horses, four asses and two she asses, hogs, tallow, books, a furnace, a flour mill and many other things of lesser value.(1)

Those left at St. Augustine passed the time very quietly, and knew nothing of what was going on in the neighborhood of Fort Caroline. On Saturday, September 22nd, Mendoza and the other priests asked the commandant at St. Augustine to send some soldiers to fish, because the day was an ember day and no meat could be eaten. When they arrived at the shore and were about to throw out their nets, they saw a man approaching them with a white flag. The Spaniards captured him and brought him to St. Augustine, for they discovered him to be a Frenchman. He was asked by Mendoza if he were a Catholic, and upon replying in the affirmative, he was told he had nothing to fear. He then gave out information to the effect that there were seven hundred men in the fort, of whom one third were Lutherans and two were

1. Mendoza Grajales in Shipp, p.554.

priests who preached the Lutheran doctrine; in the camp, he stated, there were also eight or ten Spaniards who had been wrecked on the coast and forced to live among the Indians. Sunday passed quietly, and Monday morning, September 24th, the Admiral's frigate was seen coming up the harbor, but before it arrived, a runner came out of the woods towards the ramparts of St. Augustine. Mendoza went out to meet him, and the man, almost exhausted, throwing himself in the arms of the priest, shouted "Victory, Victory! The French fort is ours." Soon Menendez landed with fifty foot soldiers, and was met by Mendoza carrying the processional cross and followed by the other priests of St. Augustine chanting the Te Deum and giving thanks to God for their victory. Mendoza was jubilant in his praises of the Admiral upon this occasion, and he wrote: "I am sure that no merely human strength could support all that he had suffered, but the ardent desire which he has to serve Our Lord in destroying his Lutheran heretics, the enemies of our holy Catholic Religion, causes him to be less sensible to the ills he has endured." (1)

Massacre Of
French Refugees
On The Coast

The slaughter at Fort Caroline was by no means the end of the sufferings of the French in Florida. On September 28th, after Menendez and his men had been resting from their arduous expedition and had become sufficiently refreshed, they received news through some Indians who came to St. Augustine, that along the coastline to the south a French vessel had been wrecked, and there were a large number of Frenchmen stranded

1. Mendoza Grajales in Shipp, p.554.

on the beach. Menendez immediately decided to investigate this affair, and so, about two o'clock in the afternoon he left the fort accompanied by twelve men, among whom were Mendoza, the chaplain, two Indian guides and all the captains who were at the fort. They descended the River of Dolphins to the sea, (1) and then went along the beach about three leagues to the south. The Spaniards perceived them about ten o'clock in the evening, for the glow of their campfires could be seen for some distance along the beach. Menendez thereupon sent two officers to reconnoiter along the coast and determine the position of the enemy for the purpose of deciding upon the best method of attack. About 2 A.M. the scouts returned, and reported that the French were on the opposite side of the river or inlet (Matanzas Inlet). Menendez then ordered two soldiers and four sailors to get the boats and bring them down the river so that a crossing could be effected. Then the troops were marched forward to the river where they arrived before daylight, concealing themselves in a hollow between the sand hills and in the nearby bushes and trees. At dawn Menendez surveyed the country from the top of one of the taller trees. He could perceive the French on the opposite side of the inlet, he described their banners flying in the breeze and was even able to count them. (2) Those in the Spanish party saw one of the Frenchmen go down to the river to get shell fish for food. A little later a flag was hoisted. Menendez, observing this, said to those about him, "I intend to change these clothes for those of a sailor, and take a Frenchman with me, (3) and we will go and talk with these Frenchmen. Perhaps they are without sup-

1. The River San Mateo.

2. Solis de las Meras in Shipp, p.554.

3. He refers here to one of the several Frenchmen who accompanied the expedition from Spain.

plies and would surrender without fighting." He immediately proceeded to do as he said, and, when dressed as a sailor, he called out to the French across the inlet, one of them swam out to hailing distance and told him of their plight, how they were shipwrecked in a hurricane and how they had not eaten bread for eight or ten days. Menendez then asked him how many men were with the French; he replied "About two hundred followers of Captain Ribaut, Viceroy and Captain General of Florida for the King of France." (1)

Menendez then asked "Are they Roman Catholics or Lutherans?" The Frenchman replied, "They are all Lutherans." The general then asked him if he wished to return to his people. He replied "yes." Menendez then went on to say, "You may then go back and report to Captain Ribaut that I am Captain General for Philip II, King of Spain, and came to find out what your people are doing here." One of the Frenchmen then informed Menendez that four galleons had been lost in the recent storm, together with several smaller vessels belonging to the King of France. He also mentioned that some of those who had escaped wished to be assisted with boats to take them to a fort twenty leagues distant. Menendez then asked them, "Are they Catholics or Lutherans?" He replied, "We are all Lutherans." Menendez then replied: "Gentlemen, your fort has been taken, and all the people in it put to death except the women and children under fifteen years of age;(2) and if you wish to be certain of it, there are some soldiers here who can tell you all about the capture. I have two French soldiers, Roman Catholics, who were captured at the fort, and will send for them, you if you will take a seat here, and you

1. Mendoza in Shipp, pp. 554-555.

2. Some of these women and children were sold as slaves in St. Augustine, while others were taken to Santo Domingo.

can question them. " (1) They replied, "We are satisfied with your statement." They then begged for ships to take them to France, but Menendez replied that he had no ships to spare, that he had sent one to Fort Caroline to bring back the artillery, one to Santo Domingo with some of the women and children whom he had captured, and one with dispatches to Spain; but that if he had ships to spare, and if they had been Catholics instead of Huguenots, he would willingly have transported them back to France. At this reply the Frenchmen then begged the General to let his people remain with him until he could furnish them with ships and provisions to take them back to France, since there was no war between the two nations and the two kings were friends. Menendez, while admitting the truth of all this, replied that as they were Lutherans, he looked upon them as enemies, and would wage war against them "with fire and sword, whether on sea or land, for the King, as I have come here to establish the holy Roman Catholic faith in Florida. But if you will surrender yourselves and arms and trust to my mercy, you may do so, and I will act toward you as God may prompt me; otherwise do as you please, for I will not make any terms or treaties with you." In two hours the Frenchman returned and told him that there were many noblemen among them who would give him fifty thousand ducats if he would spare their lives, but Menendez made answer: "I am a poor man, but I would not be guilty of such weakness, nor do I wish to be thought avaricious, and when I wish to be liberal and merciful, it must be without reward, nor will I offer any other terms."

1. For address of Menendez to the French, see Appendix II.

About an hour later, the Frenchmen returned and told Menendez that all the French would trust to his mercy and surrender on his terms. He brought to Menendez, also, all their flags, arquebuses, pistols, swords, bucklers, helmets and breastplates.(1)

After the surrender of their equipment, Menendez had them brought over ten at a time. While they were on the way over, he said to the French captain and to the other Frenchmen with him: "Gentlemen, I have but few men and they are not well known to me, and as you are many and are at liberty, it will be easy for you to revenge yourselves upon me for the people I have put to death when we took your fort; it is, therefore, necessary that you should march with your hands tied behind your backs four leagues where I have my camp." (2) The Frenchmen consented to this, and were marched off. Mendoza tells us that Menendez asked if there were any Roman Catholics among them, eight admitted they were, and these eight were thereupon put into a boat and sent to St. Augustine. The others were marched along the shore, where at a sign from Menendez, they were shot or had their throats cut.(3) Mendoza, in discussing this massacre, says: "I made him(Menendez) tie their hands, all had their throats cut. It seems to me that I have served God and Your Majesty in punishing them thus: for at least this evil sect will no longer block our efforts to disseminate the good word in these countries." (4) Menendez disposed of the corpses by piling them in a large

1. There is a different account of this surrender on the last page of Mendoza Grajales' diary, for a translation of this account see Appendix III
2. Mendoza Grajales in Shipp, p.557.
3. Ranson, p.55 (manuscript)
4. Gaffarel, p.229.

heap and setting fire to them where they burned until there was nothing left but a pile of ashes on the Florida beach.

Second Massacre
Of the French

Shortly after Menendez returned to St. Augustine, Indians came again to inform him that more Christians had arrived on the same side of the river where they found the others. Menendez concluded that the new arrivals must be Captain Ribaut's party, and quickly left the fort with one hundred and fifty men. They camped at the same place as before. The soldiers concealed themselves among the sand hills and in the bushes along the river bank. As day dawned, Menendez saw a group of men with a lighter built for the purpose of carrying soldiers to the other side of the river. But these people, on perceiving the Spaniards, sounded their drums and trumpets, unfurled the royal standard and gave other indications of preparing for battle. To these manouvers the Spaniards paid no attention, Menendez ordering his men to take their breakfast, while he himself walked up and down the beach with his officers. Finally the French hoisted a white flag, to which Menendez replied by waving a white handkerchief as a token of peace. After a little parleying and shouting across the inlet, it was arranged for Captain Ribaut to come across and speak with Menendez. After being refreshed with food, Ribaut thanked Menendez for his hospitality, and then told the General that some day he might find himself in the same position, and hoped that he (Menendez) would treat him in a friendly and magnanimous spirit, and furnish him with ships and provisions to return to France. But Menendez replied that he would not change his mind. Finally, after Ribaut had discussed with his own men the seriousness of the situation, he returned and told Menendez that one half would surrender on the terms of his being merciful

and pay a ransom of one hundred thousand ducats; and the other half would pay still more. Menendez replied that while he needed the money to establish the Catholic religion in Florida, still he must refuse the offer. The next morning Ribaut delivered to the Spanish General two royal standards of the King of France, the banners of the companies, also a sword, dagger, pistol, gilded helmet and a seal which Admiral de Coligny had given him to seal dispatches and writs which might be passed. He told Menendez that out of three hundred and fifty persons, only one hundred and fifty were willing to surrender on the terms of being mercifully treated, the rest had departed during the night in another direction. Those who wished to submit were brought over in boats ten at a time. Then their hands were tied behind their backs. They treated Ribaut and his officers in this manner also. When the prisoners had been bound they marched the whole group, four leagues by land, at night.

Before they set out for St. Augustine, however, Menendez asked Captain Ribaut if they were Lutherans or Roman Catholics. Ribaut replied that they were Lutherans, and commenced to sing a psalm: "Domine memento mei!" After they finished singing it he remarked that "They were of earth and to earth they must return, and that twenty years more or less were of no consequence." Perceiving that their lives were to be lost, Ribaut asked to see the governor to remind him of his promise, but he spoke to deaf ears. D'Ottigny, hearing the despairing cries of his men, appealed to the oath which he alleged Menendez had taken, but the Spaniards laughed at him. As Ribaut insisted on his application, a Spanish soldier finally asked him if he were the commander Ribaut. Upon being told he was, the man asked him again if he did not expect, when he gave an order to his soldiers, that they would obey,

to which he again said "yes". --"I propose to obey the orders of my commander also," replied the Spaniard; "I am ordered to kill you." And with that he thrust a dagger into Ribaut's breast; he killed D'Ottigny in the same way. When this was done, men were detailed to kill all the rest who had been tied up, by knocking them in the head with clubs and axes; which they proceeded to do without delay, calling them meanwhile Lutherans and enemies to God and the Virgin Mary. In this manner they were all murdered except a drummer from Dieppe named Dronet, a fifer, and another man from Dieppe, a fiddler named Massilan, who were kept alive to play for dancing. (1) There were also four Catholics besides these musicians who were saved. The same night Menendez returned to St. Augustine, where some taunted him with being cruel and others said he had done right, as the Spaniards would have died of starvation if they had been forced to feed the French, due to the scarcity of provisions at the fort, or on the other hand, if this did not occur, the French being more numerous would have put the Spaniards to death for their cruelty. (2)

European Opinions

On the Massacre

The news of the massacre of Fort Caroline reached Europe some time in November, 1565, while the news of the massacres on the coast arrived shortly after.

In France

The French received the news with mingled emotion. Those who were not Huguenots, for the most part, probably received the report indifferently, but the Huguenots looked upon the massacre of their brethren in

1. Le Moyne de Morgues pp.21-22.

2. Account of Solis de las Meras in Shipp, pp.557-559.

Ruidaz y Caravia, Vol.i, pp.119-127.

Florida in a very serious light. Their importunities reached the court of Charles IX who had his ambassador in Spain protest to Philip II concerning this outrage, but the ambassador made reply that the Duke of Alva gave him to understand that De Coligny was really to blame for exaggerating the harm which was done in shooting these men. Several letters on this subject passed between the French court and Forquevalux, the French Ambassador to Spain. Catherine de Medicis, the French Queen Mother, on March 17, 1565, sent a letter to her ambassador in Spain in which she denounced the attitude of the Spaniards, but nothing more was done. (1)

The families of those men who had been executed, however, were not so easily pacified. They petitioned the French court to revenge this terrible slaughter, and in a very long and extremely grief laden document they begged their royal master to re-occupy the land of Florida, to drive out the Spaniards, and thus to wipe off the stain which they conceived to exist upon the French honor. (2)

In Spain The Spaniards, especially Philip II and his court, considered the work of Menendez as an excellent undertaking for the advancement of Spanish power and ascendancy in the West Indies. They were of the opinion that the occupation of Florida by the French was an act of pure aggression, for which the Frenchmen had only paid the penalty, nothing more. They even went so far as to demand of the French court the punishment of Admiral de Coligny, whom they accused of being the sole instigator of this whole affair of ag-

1. Delaborde, Vol. ii, p.448

2. For original text of selections from this petition, see Appendix IV.

gression. These accusations were contained in two letters, from Forquevalux to the Court of France, one on February 23rd, 1566, and another on March 16th of the same year. (1)

The Papacy Some time after the events which we have been recording had taken place in Florida, Pope Pius V wrote a personal letter to Menendez under the date of August 1st, 1569. In the communication he congratulates Menendez upon his appointment as Governor of Florida, lauds his bravery, and remarks that he was confident that Menendez would carry out all the orders and instructions which had been delivered to him, and would do everything in his power to extend the Catholic faith throughout his dominions. (2)

Still, notwithstanding the nature of the case, the heinousness of the methods of extermination employed, and the protests of the French, nothing was done officially by the French government to right the wrongs which its nationals had suffered in Florida. The Spaniards now possessed the peninsula in security, and their administration was centered in St. Augustine, which was defended by the old French Fort Caroline, which they had christened Fort San Mateo, as well as some smaller forts along the St. Johns River, yet this security was short lived as we shall now see.

1. Delabord, Vol.ii,p.447.

2. For translation of papal letter, see Appendix V

CHAPTER VI.FRENCH REVENGE.1568.

We do not intend in this chapter to consider in minute detail the narrative of French revenge. Our intention is to treat it in a more summary fashion than we have treated those chapters which have gone before. The reason is that we do not consider this latter chapter to be actually a part of the scheme of Huguenot colonization, nor in any way an official act of the French government. The whole expedition was of a private and semi-piratical nature, and did not in any way restore French prestige on the peninsula.

DeGourgues The leader of this free-lance expedition of revenge was one the Man.

Dominique DeGourgues, born in 1537 in the town of Mont-de-Marsan. During his life time his career was rather a checkered one. In his earlier years he served on land, and took part in the Italian campaign under Marechal de Strozzi. During the campaign he was captured by the Spanish in a siege in 1557, and was sent to row in the galleys. The galley in which he rowed was later captured by the Turks, but DeGourgues' position, until he was finally freed by the Knights of Malta, did not improve. He then returned to France, and after a voyage to Brazil and the Indies, he entered the service of the House of Lorraine. It is stated upon good authority that this avenger of the Huguenots in Florida was himself a Roman Catholic. (1)

(1) "Dominique DeGourgues, the Avenger of the Huguenots in Florida, a Catholic," in "Catholic World," vol. xxi, pp.701-705.

The Expedition
to Florida.

It is said by Bassanier, in his edition of Laudonnière's *Histoire de la Floride* (1) that Captain DeGourgues was animated chiefly by a desire for patriotic vengeance consumed by a passion for restoring the honor of his nation and wiping out the blot that it had sustained in the murder of its citizens by a foreign power. Be that as it may, the fact is that DeGourgues sold part of his goods to equip three medium sized ships and to be able to pay one hundred and fifty soldiers and four score mariners under Captain Cazenove who acted as his lieutenant, and also Francois Bourdelois, master of the sailors. Something, however, which Bassanier, in his patriotic ardor, does not mention is the fact that, after they had sailed from Bordeaux on August 22nd, 1567, they made for that part of the African coast known as the Bight of Benin, where they hoped to capture slaves. At Cape Blanco they had a skirmish with some negro chiefs, entered the harbor and sailed off with some slaves. With his ship loaded with this precious cargo, DeGourgues, with an eye to business, made for the Spanish West Indies, where he disposed of his negroes at Dominica, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo, finding in each port many Spaniards ready to buy from him. At the town of Puerto de la Plata, on the Island of Santo Domingo, he met a Spaniard by the name of Zaballo. This worthy was accustomed to trade with French pirates and slavers. He bought slaves and goods from DeGourgues, and furnished him with a pilot for the Florida coast. Puerto de la Plata had been a refuge for some of those who had deserted Laudonnière in the famous mutiny which we have recorded. It is probable, according to Shea,

(1) See page 207 of this work.

that this was the place where he actually received his inspiration to seek revenge for the massacre of his fellow countrymen, and it was not, as Bassanier would have us believe, a preconceived plan originated in France.

Arrival

on the

Florida Coast.

After encountering storms and strong winds and being detained at the Island of Cuba for a time, they eventually arrived on the Florida coast near the mouth of the St. Johns River. The Spaniards at St. Augustine, as well as the smaller forts, saluted them with two cannonades thinking that DeGourgues' ships were Spanish ships. DeGourgues returned the salutation in order that those on shore would suspect nothing. They sailed up the coast to the north, and at night landed near the river which the French had called the Seine. (1)

Alliances

with

Indian Kings.

The next morning after their landing, the Indian chiefs or kings of the vicinity came to the French camp. Outstanding among them was the great King Satouriona. The lesser chiefs who made their appearance on this occasion were Tacadocoruo, Halmacanir, Athore, Harpha, Helmacate, Helycopile, Molona and others with their allies and usual arms. They had come to ascertain what the purpose of the French General was. After exchanging signs of friendship, Satouriona and the others sat upon the ground to take council with DeGourgues. Satouriona told in detail the cruel indignities which all the Indians and their wives and children had suffered at the hands of the Spaniards since they had come and succeeded in wiping out the French. Satouriona declared that they wished to ally themselves with the

1. Bassanier, Editor of "Laudonniere's Histoire de la Floride," p.208.
LaReprinse de la Floride by DeGourgues in "Gaffarel," p.493.

French, not only to avenge the injuries which the Spaniards had made them suffer, but also because the French were in the past their allies. The other Indians agreed to follow Satouriona, and a confederation was sworn to between the natives and the French. (1)

Condition of the Spaniards. Since the massacre, the Spaniards had garrisoned the country with about four hundred men distributed into three forts along the River May. The largest and most commodious of these forts was Fort Caroline built by Laudonniere's men as we have stated before, but now known as Fort San Mateo. Below this fort, at both sides of the River May, were two small forts defended each by twenty-six soldiers with a store of ammunition and artillery. (2)

The Capture of the Spanish Forts. The details being arranged and the Indian allies being given their instructions, the French marched to the first Spanish fort. They were guided by Indians and were forced to take a long and difficult path through the woods, crossing several rather deep streams. Upon coming in sight of the first Spanish fort, DeGourgues addressed his men, pointing out to them the justice of their cause. He then divided his troops into two groups, putting himself at the head of one, and Monsieur de Casenove at the head of the other. They then advanced slowly in order of battle. The Spaniards within the fort were ignorant of the expedition of DeGourgues to Florida, so they were not on the watch. Upon coming close to the fort, an Indian jumped upon the battlement, grappled a moment with the

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1. Bassanier, Editor of "Laudonniere's Histoire de la Floride," p.209.
"LaReprinse de la Floridem" in Gaffarel, pp.494-495.
Also to be found in Ternaux-Compans, "Recueil des Pieces Sur la Floride."
 2. Bassanier, in "Laudonniere" p.212.

cannoneer and ran him through with his spear. Then the two bands broke into the fort, killing most of the garrison in the skirmish and keeping the others for future execution. (1)

Those in the second fort across the river had been aroused by this time and began to fire their cannon at the French. DeGourgues placed on the bank of the river the two culverins and two other pieces of artillery which he had found in the first fort. Then, after cannonading for awhile, he crossed the river in a rowboat while his Indian allies swam to the opposite bank. The Spanish, feeling that there was not enough safety behind their entrenchments, fled to the woods where they were cut to pieces by DeGourgues' men. Of the sixty who occupied the fort, there were spared only fifteen who were retained for execution. He then entered the fort and demolished it. (2)

Capture of Fort San Mateo. The most important of the Spanish forts outside of St. Augus-

time was fort San Mateo, which had been, as we have remarked before, built by the French and called by them Fort Caroline. DeGourgues realized the strength of this work, and knew that the garrison contained about two hundred men, but the consternation among the Spaniards was great since the first two forts had been captured so easily. DeGourgues had as one of his prisoners an old sergeant from whom, by threats, he obtained the plan of the fort. He took Sunday and Monday to prepare for the attack.

On Tuesday morning at dawn the attack began. The Indians surrounded the fort in the woods to prevent the Spaniards going out. By the

1. Charlevoix, Vol. 1, pp.99-100

2. Ibid., pp.100-101.

time the French arrived at the fort the hour was rather late, and some felt that DeGourgues should wait until the following day so that his operations would not be hindered by darkness. All these suggestions the commander waived aside. He ordered guns to be placed in position, and the bombardment began. The Spanish garrison soon lost heart, seeing themselves surrounded on four sides, and all made for the woods, where they were either killed by the Indians or else captured by the French. In the taking of Fort San Mateo, the French possessed themselves of a large quantity of arms and munition. (1)

The Punishment

of the DeGourgues wasted no time in dealing with his captives. He Prisoners. tied them together in groups and marched them along the shore as close to the exact spot where the French had been executed as it was possible for him to determine. There he hanged them on trees after he had shot them, then taking daggers, in imitation of what Menendez had done when legend stated that he placed upon his unfortunate captives the sign: "I do this not as to Frenchmen but as to Lutherans," DeGourgues affixed to the corpses a sign burnt into a pine board which read: "I do not do this as to Spaniards or as to sailors, but as to traitors, ruffians and murderers." Leaving these corpses with the sign of revenge pinned upon them to swing in the Florida breeze, DeGourgues and his party slipped away from the "Land of Flowers" as quietly as they had come. (2)

1. Charlevoix, vol.i, pp.101-102.
2. For the text of the sign pinned upon the Spanish corpses, see Appendix 1. "La Reprins de la Floride," in Gaffarel, pp.483-515, also in Ternaux-Compans pp.301-366.
Also in French's Historical Collection of Louisiana and Florida, second series, pp.267-289.

CONCLUSION.

We have reviewed at great length the story of the Huguenot settlements in Florida. We have seen, in the course of this paper, how they established themselves, first, at Port Royal and what is now the South Carolina coast; and when that colony failed, we have seen how a second establishment was founded on the River May in the northeastern part of the peninsula of Florida. We have also considered the method which the Spaniards used to deal with these French Protestant colonists, and we have discussed also, though in a more summary fashion, the revenge which one of the French navigators of the day had the satisfaction of taking.

The questions which we must consider before closing this paper are: First of all what right, if any, had the French for settling in the territory of Florida; secondly, what was the ethical justification, if any, for the sanguinary methods which the Spaniards employed in their treatment of the French colonists.

Right of Colonization. In the first chapter of this paper, we have taken pains to show that the Spaniards, by the expedition of Ponce de Leon in 1513 and in 1521, had laid claims to the land of Florida. We have seen, also, that these claims were fortified by subsequent expeditions, that of Navarez in 1528, that of DeSoto in 1538, and by many minor incursions into the territory. That the Spaniards had a valid claim to this land, cannot be denied by any fair minded person who is conversant with the procedure of the times, which accorded the title of any territory to the nation which was the first to explore and claim it. That in the case of Florida this nation was Spain,

is clear beyond the shadow of a doubt. The dispute really revolves about two points; first, did the claim of the Spaniards extend to the first colony at Port Royal, or was this colony in territory which would rightfully be claimed by France through the voyage of Verazzani in 1524? It has been our opinion, which we have expressed before in this paper, that the latitude at which DeAyllon's men stopped in their first voyage of 1521 was 33 degrees 30' north latitude, which is, we admit, in the vicinity of Port Royal, but a little to the south of that place. Whether Verazzani penetrated this far south or not on his voyage is a question we have no means of answering, but the mere fact of the question of who actually sighted the territory of Port Royal first gives the French some shadow of a claim, as Verazzani is known to have sailed along the whole Atlantic coast from some place either in present day Georgia or South Carolina all the way up to Maine. The fact that the Spaniards attempted one settlement on this coast called Guandate, which lasted only a short time in the year 1526 and was speedily abandoned, coupled with the fact that they never returned to make any more settlements upon this part of the coast, gave the French some reason to maintain that their claim was justified both by the fact of the exploration, as well as by the abandonment of the territory by the Spanish. Thus, in all fairness, we believe that the first French colony of 1562 at Port Royal, which was then considered part of Florida, had justification on the grounds of international usage obtaining in those days, and that had the French remained there, or founded their second colony there, they would have had at least a right in justice to their holdings.

However, this opinion concerning the colonists at Port Royal does not hold for the colony established by Laudonnière at Fort Caroline on the River May. That settlement, it seems to us, was plainly founded in territory to which the Spaniards had an indisputable claim, due to the numerous expeditions which we have mentioned in the first chapter. It may be pleaded for the French side that, since the Spaniards had not founded any permanent settlements on the Florida peninsula up to that time, it was safe to suppose that they had no intention of settling that country. But yet settlement at that time was not necessary for a nation to claim a territory. It was sufficient that that nation had explored the territory. Thus, considering the situation from as objective a point of view as it is possible for us to attain, we are forced to the conclusion that the French in 1564 were trespassers upon an alien land, and furthermore that they were undoubtedly fully aware of that situation. Thus, in the abstract at least, we may say that the Spaniards were perfectly justified in taking forcible means to expel the colony of Laudonnière and Ribaut from the territory of Florida.

Ethical
Consideration We admit that the Spaniards were justified in their desire
of Spanish
Treatment of to drive out all French influence from the Florida peninsula.
the French.
Now the question arises, what about the methods of wholesale extermination which the Spaniards employed to effect this end? Certain historians attempt to justify their actions, the famous Catholic historian of the last century, John Gilmary Shea, being noteworthy in this regard. He justifies the Spanish actions from the fact that in the preceding decades of the sixteenth century French free booters and pirates had infested the lanes of navigation in the

West Indies. He cites an instance in 1555 in Havana when Jacques de Sorie, a famous French pirate, captured the town and pledged his word to spare the lives of the Spaniards who surrendered. Instead of doing as he said, however, he put them and his Portuguese prisoners to death; negro slaves he hung up and shot while still alive. Shea goes on to tell us that "priests, especially those of religious orders, met no mercy at the hands of the French cruisers at this period, the most atrocious case being that of the Portuguese Jesuit, Ignatius Azevedo, captured by the French on his way to Brazil with thirty-nine missionary companions, all of whom were put to death in 1570. In all my reading I find no case where the French in Spanish waters gave quarter to Spaniards, except in hope of large ransom. Two of the vessels found at Caroline were Spanish, loaded with sugar and hides, captured near Yaguana by the French, who threw all the crew overboard; and Gourgues, on reaching Florida, had two barks evidently captured from the Spaniards, as to the fate of whose occupants his eulogists preserve a discreet silence." (1)

We wish to take exception to some of these statements however. In the first place the massacre of the Jesuit priest and his companions, which Shea mentions, did not occur for five years after the slaughter at Caroline; hence, it could not have served as an example for the Spanish in their treatment of the French. As to the expedition of Sorie against Havana in 1555, we must remember that this worthy was a pirate of the novel type who sailed the high seas for the purpose of robbing and pillaging where he could, and

1. Shea in Winsor, p.273-275.

was consequently an enemy to society. Now, the Frenchmen who colonized Florida in 1564 were not pirates. It is true that a disgruntled element among them did go on a piratical expedition to the West Indies, but they were punished partially by the Spaniards who hanged some of them and sold the others into slavery, and partially by their own captain, Laudonnière, who hanged those who had escaped the Spaniards. At no time did the French colonists or their leaders officially sponsor any expeditions of a warlike nature from Fort Caroline against any of the Spanish dominions. Moreover, these men had come with a peaceful intent; they had come to found homes and to develop a settlement, as is evident from the fact that they brought women and children with them. Consequently, to say that Menendez was justified because of the past depredations of French pirates in his summary treatment of those French settlers, is as absurd as to say that these settlers themselves were pirates. They were no more pirates than were the Puritans who settled Massachusetts Bay in 1620, or the Catholics who settled Maryland in 1634, or the French who settled the Illinois country in 1720. As regards the Spanish vessels which Shea mentions as being in power of the French, they were possibly some of those which had been captured by the piratical expedition, the remnant of which later returned to Caroline only to be hanged by Laudonnière. Clearly, Menendez, as a christian which he professed to be, could have found other means of expelling these Frenchmen from a territory in which we believe in all fairness they had no right to be. To our mind, the wholesale slaughter of these colonists and the selling of their wives and children into slavery was a crime on the part of Menendez, which is all the more black because it was perpetrated under the cloak of

high minded religious zeal.

Appendices

Chapter 1.

Appendix 1. (Cited on Page 2) Description of the Animal Life of Florida from Bassanier's Edition of Laudonniere's "HISTOIRE DE LA FLORIDE", pp.2-6.

Les animaux plus connus en terre sont de cerfs, biches, cherveux, dains, ours, leopards, loups-cerviers, onces, diverses sortes de loups, chiens sauvages, lievres, conins, poules d'indes, pedrix, parroquet, pigeons, ramiers, tourterelles, merles, corneilles, tiercelets, faucons, laniers, herons, grues, cigongnes, oyes sauvages, canars, cormorans, esgrettes blanches, rouges, noires et grises et une infinite de sorte de gibbier. Il y a telle quantities de crocodils, que les hommes en sont souventes fois assaillis en nageant, des serpents de plusieurs sortes et une certaine espece de bestes qui different fort peu des lyons d'Afrique.

Appendix II. (Cited on Page 9) Letter to King Charles V from Ponce de Leon in Puerto Rico, February 10, 1521. Quotation in part: from Shea, J.G., "ANCIENT FLORIDA" in Justin Winsor's "NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICA", vol. ii, pp.234-235.

Among my services I discovered at my own cost and charge, the Island Florida and others in this district, which are not mentioned as being small and useless; and now I return to that island, if it pleases God's will to settle it, being enabled to carry a number of people with which I shall be able to do so, that the name of Christ may be praised there, and your majesty served with the fruit that land produces. And I also intend to explore the coast of said island further, and see whether it is an island, or whether it connects with the land where Diego Velasquez is, or any other; and I shall endeavor to learn all I can. I shall set out to pursue my voyage hence in five or six days.

Chapter II

Appendix I (Cited on Page 33) De Coligny and the Planning of a Colony.
Taken from Charlevoix, "HISTOIRE GENERALE DE LA NOUVELLE
FRANCE." Vol. i, p.23.

"La France sous les Regnes de Francois II & de Charles IX, ebranlée
jusques dans ses fondements par des guerres domestiques, sembla d'abord
avoir entierment perdu l'Amerique de vue. Toutesfois au milieu de tant
d'orages il y eu quelques jours de calme, & l'Amiral de Cologni en profita
encore, pour effayer de faire ailleurs ce qu'il ne pouvoit plus esperer d'
execute au Brésil. Il jetta les yeux sur cette partie de la Floride, que
Verazani avoit decouverté, & ce Pays lui sembla d'autant plus propre a re-
cevoir une Colonie, telle qu'il la projettoit, qu'outre la bonté du climat,
& la fertilité de la terre, il se flattoit que les François n'y trouveroi-
ent personne, qui put leur en disputer la possession, ni meme les inquieter"

Appendix II (Cited on Page 36) They sight Florida and sail along the
coast. Taken from Laudonnière, "HISTOIRE DE LA FLORIDE" pp.15-
21. (Bassanier Edition)

"Ayant doncques navigué deux moys sans acunement tenir la route
des Espagnols, il prist port en la Nouvelle France, terrisant pres un cap,
ou promontoire non relève de terre, parce que la coste est toute plate,
mais de hautes forets seulement; lequel a son abord il appella Cap François,
en l'honneur de notre France. Ce cap est distant de l'Equateur environ
trente degres. De ce lieu, costoyant vers le Septentrion, il descouvrit une
fort belle et grande riviere, laquelle luy donna occasion d' ancrer pour le

lendemain l'aller recognoistre au plus matin, ce qu'ayant fait, et presque a l'aube du jour, accompagne du capitaine Finquerville et de plusieurs soldats de son bord, il ne fust sitost arrivè a la lisière du rivage, qu'il reconnut plusieurs Indiens, hommes et femmes, qui tout exprès s'estoient transportez en ce lieu pour y recevoir les François avec toute douceur et amitié: comme bien ils monstrent par la harangue que leur Roy fit, et les presens de peaux de chamoys, desquels il honra le capitaine, qui, le jour suivant, fit planter dedans ladite riviere, et non fort loin de l'embouchure d'icelle, une colonne de pierre de taille, sur un petit costau de terre sablonneuse, en laquelle les armoiries de France estoient emprentes et gravées."

Appendix III (Cited on Pages 38 and 39) Ribaut's Address to his Men at the Foundation of Charlesfort, taken from Laudonnière, "HISTOIRE DE LA FLORIDE", pp. 35-36.

"Je croy que nul de vous n'ignore de combien notre entreprise est de grande consequence, et combien aussi belle elle est agreable a nostre jeune roy..... et pour ceste cause j'ay bien voulu vous proposer devant les yeux la memoire eternelle qu'a bon et juste titre meritent ceux, lesquels oublians et leurs parents et leur patrie, ont osè entreprendre chose de telle importance je vous supplie doncques tous d'y adviser, et librement me declarer vos volontés: protestant si bien imprimer vos noms aux oreilles du roy et des princes, que vostre renommée a l'advenir reluira inextinguible par le meilleur de nostre France."

Appendix IV. (Cited on Page 44) Sufferings Crossing the Atlantic, taken from Laudonnière, "HISTOIRE DE LA FLORIDE", pp.56-59.

".....Mais enyvrez de la trop excessive joye qu'ils avoient de retourner en France, ou bien privez de toute providence et consideration, sans avoir egard aux vents inconstants, et a un moment muable, ils se mirent en mer, et avec si maigres victuailles, que la fin de leur dessein se trouva malheureuse et désespérée. Après doncques qu'ils eurent navigué le tiers de leur chemin, ils furent surpris de calmes si ennuyeux qu'en trois semaines ils ne s'avancerent pas de vingt-cinq lieues. Pendant ce temps, les vivres se diminuèrent, et vindrent a telle petitesse, qu'ils furent contraints ne manger que chacun douze grains de mil par jour, qui sont peut estre en valeur douze poix. Encores tel heure ne leur dura que bien peu, car tout a coup les vivres defaillirent, et n'eurent pour plus assuré recours que les souliers et les colets qu'ils mangerent. Quant au boire, les uns usoiient de l'eau de la mer, les autres de leur propre urine, et demourerent en telle désespérée nécessité l'espace de un fort long temps, durant lequel une partie mourut de faim.... Parquoy en ce dernier desespoir quelques uns d'entre eux proposerent qu'il estoit plus expedient qu'un seul mourut que tants de gens perissent; ils arrestèrent doncques que l'un mourroit pour substanter les autres. Ce que fut executé en la personne de Lachère duquel nous avons parlé cy-devant, la chair duquel fut partie également a ses compagnons, chose si pitoyable a reciter, que ma plume mesme difere de l'escrire....."

Chapter III

Appendix I (Cited on Page 47) Taken from Le Moyne de Morgues, "NARRATIVE OF THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO FLORIDA UNDER LAUDONNIÈRE. The Appointment of Laudonnière as the Commander of the Expedition.

"The admiral, in the meanwhile, recommended to the king a nobleman of the name of Renaud de Laudonnière; a person well known at court, and of varied abilities, though experienced, not so much in military as in naval affairs. The king accordingly appointed his own lieutenant, and appropriated for the expedition the sum of one hundred thousand francs. The admiral, who was a man endowed with all the virtues, and eminent for Christian piety, was so zealous for the faithful doing of the king's business, as to give special instructions to Laudonnière, exhorting him in particular to use all manner of diligence in doing his duty, and first of all, since he professed to be a religious man, to select the right sort of men, and such as feared God, to be of his company. He would do well, in the next place, to engage as many skilled mechanics of all kinds as possible. In order to give him better facilities for these purposes he received a royal commission, bearing the king's seal."

Appendix II (Cited on Page 50) Description of Fort Caroline, taken from Laudonnière, "HISTOIRE DE LA FLORIDE", pp.85-86.

"....Nostre fort estoit basti en triangle. Le coste de l'Oest, qui estoit celui de la terre, fermé d'une petite tranchée et relevée de gazons faicts en forme de parapet, de la hauteur de neuf pieds; l'autre costé, qui estoit vers la rivière, estoit fermé d'une palissade de clies de la manière que l'on faict les gabions. Il y avait du costé du sud une

forme de bastion, dedans lequel je feis bastir une grange aux munitions. Le tout estoit basti de facines et de sable, excepté environ la hauteur de deux ou trois pieds de gazon, dont lesparapets estoient faicts. J'avois faict faire une grande place au meilleu, de dix huit pas de long et de large, au meilleu de laquelle , tirant sur l'un des costez vers le sud, je feis batir un corps de garde, et une maison de l'autre costé vers le north, laquelle j'avois faict eslever un peu trop haut; car, un peu de temps après le vent me l'abbatit, et l'experience m'apprisit qu'il ne faut pas bastir a ceste terre a hauts estages, a cause des grands vents ausquelles elle est subjecte. L'un des costez qui fermoit ma court, laquelle j'avois faict faire belle et spatieuse, touchoit a la grange des munitions , et en l'autre, vers la rivière, estoit ma maison, a l'entour de laquelle il y avoit des galleries toutes couvertes. La principale saillie de mon logis estoit au meilleu de la grande place, et l'autre estoit devers la rivière. Assez loin du fort je fais bastir un four, pour éviter aux fortunes de feu, a cause que les maisons sont couvertes de palmites qui sont prompts a estre brulez, depuis que le feu y prend, si bien qu'a grande peine peut on avoir le loisir de l'esteindre. Voilà en brief la description de nostre forteresse, que je nommay la Caroline, en l'honneur de nostre prince le roy Charles."

Appendix III (Cited on Page 63) Text of the Letter of De Coligny Naming Ribaut to Succeed Laudonnière as Commander of Fort Caroline, taken from Laudonnière's "HISTOIRE DE LA FLORIDE" pp.184-185.

"Capitaine Laudonnière, parce que' aucuns de ceux qui sont revenuz de la Floride parlent indifferemment de la terre, le Roy desire vostre venue, afin que selon vostre effect, il se resoudre d'y faire une grande depense, ou du tout la laisser: et pour ce j'envoys le Capitaine Jean Ribaut, pour y commander, auquel vous deliverez tout ce qu'avez en charge, et l'instruirez de tout ce que pourrez avoir descouvert." (Et en un apostille de la lettre y avoit) "Ne pensez point que ce vous envoye guerir soit pour mal contentement et mefiement que j'aye de vous, mais c'est pour vostre bien et honneur, et vous assure que toute ma vie vous aurez un bon maistre en moy. Chastillon. "

Chapter IV

Appendix I (Cited on Page 65) Text of Granvelle's Note from Vienna to Philip II. Taken from Gaffarel, "HISTOIRE DE LA FLORIDE FRANCAISE" pp. 154-155.

"Quels qu'aient et  les conseils de l'ambassadeur, on n'en pas moins laiss  les Francois prendre pied dans la Floride on ils ont contruit deux forts, qu'il ne sera pas facile de leur enlever. Car, s'il n'y a pas de gens d'Espagne pour les envoyer dehors, il y a plus de quarante mille hommes en France desquelz il est besoing descharger le pays. Tous les jours leur proverbe ne devient que trop vrai, lorsqu'ils disent qu'avec deux choses ils s'assurent du roi d'Espagne, savoir: il n'y a point d'argent, et nous arriverons et pourvoierons a tout en temps opportun".

Appendix II (Cited on Page 68) Texts of Sections of the Four Patents Granted to Menendez by King Philip II on March 22, 1565. Taken from Ruidaz y Caravia, "LA FLORIDA, SU CONQUISTA Y COLONIZACION." Vol.ii, pp.351-359.

Patent I

MADRID, 22 DE MARZO DE 1565- REAL OEDULA DONANDO AL ADALANTADO DON PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES 25 LEGUAS DE TERRITORIO DE LA FLORIDA.

"Don Phelipe, por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de las dos Sicilias, de Jerusalem, de Navarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla, de Cerdena, de Corcega, de Murcia, de Jaen, de los Algarbes, de Alxeciras, de Gibraltar, de las Islas de Caharia, de las Indias e Islas e tierra firme del mar Oceano, Conde de Flandes, e de Tirol etc., ----Por quanto nos mandamos tomar cierto asiento y capitulacion con Vos, Pero Menendez de Aviles, Cavallero de la Orden de Santiago, sobre que os aveys ofrecido de llevar a la costa y tierra

de la Florida seys chalupas y quatro zabras ligeras, con sus remos, armas y municiones, puestos a punto de guerra, y quinientos hombres, los ciento labradores y los ciento marineros, y los demas Officiales, gente de mar y guerra, y otros officiales canteros y carpinteros, serradores, herarros, barberos, zerujanos, todos con sus armas, arcabuzes y municiones y rodelay poblaryes tres pueblos en la tierra de la dicha Florida, y hareys otras cosas contenidas en el dicho asiento y capitulacion, todo ello a vuestra costa y mision, sin que Nos, ni los Reyes que despues de Nos vinieren, seamos ni sean obligados a vos pagar ni satisfacer los gastos que en ellos hizieredes, en el qual dicho asiento ay un capitulo del tenor siguiente:

"Yten: vos hazemos merced en lo que ansi descubridés y poblarades en la dicha tierra de la Florida, de veinte y cinco leguas en quadro, en un lugar ó'dos, como vos mas quisieredes, que sea en buena tierra y en parte que os esté bien commodamente, sin perjuicio de los yndios; las quales sean para vos y para vuestros herederos y subcesores perpetuamente, para siempre jamas, sin que en ellas tengays jurisdiccion alguna, ni minas, porque esto ha de quedar para Nos; y por quanto nos abeys auplicado os hagamos merced de dar titulo de Marqués destas veynte y cinco leguas en quadro que os mandamos dar, decimos que acabada la jornada, y cumpliendo vos lo dicho en este asiento, vos haremos la merced que oviere lugar conforme a vuestros servicios.....

Dada en Madrid a 22 de Marzo de 1565---Yo el Rey.---Yo Francisco de Erasso, Secretario de S.M. Real, la fize escrevir por su mandato.

Patent II

MADRID, 22 DE MARZO DE 1565-- REAL CEDULA EXIMIENDO A PERO MENENDEZ DEL PAGO DE DERECHOS DE FUNDICION DE METALES.

".....Otro si: hazemos merced a vos el dicho Pero Menendez a todos los vecinos y moradores y pobladores de la dicha tierra, que de todo el oro y plata, piedras y perlas que en ellas se descubrieren, no Nos paguen mas del diezmo, por tiempo y espacio de diez anos, que corren y se quenten desde el dia que se hiziere la primera fundicion...."

Dada en Madrid a 22 de Marzo de 1565 anos... Yo el Rey---Yo Francisco de Erasso, Secretario de S.M. Real, la fize escrevir por su mandado.

Patent III

MADRID 22 DE MARZO DE 1565-- REAL CEDULA CONCIDIENDO AL ADELANTADO PERO MENENDEZ DE AVILES PARTICIPACION EN LAS RENTAS, MINAS Y FRUTOS DE LA FLORIDA.

"...Otro si: vos hago merced, de quinze partes, la una, de todas las rentas y minas, oro y plata, piedras, perlas y frutos que nos turbiéremos en las dichas tierras y provincias de la Florida, perpetuamente, para vos y para vuestros herederos y subcesores, quitas las costas."

Dada en Madrid a 22 de Marzo de 1565 anos--Yo el Rey--Yo Francisco de Erasso, Secretario de S.M. Real, la fize escrevir por su mando.

Patent IV

MADRID 22 DE MARZO DE 1565-- REAL CEDULA CONCEDIENDO A PERO MENENDEZ DOS PESQUERIAS EN LA FLORIDA, UNA DE PERLAS Y OTRA DE PESCADO.

"...Item: vos hazemos merced de dos pesquerias, quales vos escogieredes, en las dichas tierras de la Florida, una de perlas y otra de pescado, para vos y para vuestros herederos y subcessores, perpetuamente....."

Dada en Madrid a 22 de Marzo de 1565--Yo el Rey-- Yo Francisco de

Erasso, Secretario de S.M. Real, la fize escrevir por su mandado.

Royal Charter

CAPITULACION Y ASIENTO CON PERO MENENDEZ DE AVILES PARA LA POBLACION Y CONQUISTA DE LA FLORIDA.

....Primaramente vos el dicho Pero Menendez os encargais y obligais de tener para el dicho mes de Mayo prestas y aparejadas y a la vela de San Lucar, o en el Puerto de Santa Maria o Cadiz las dichas seis chalupas del porte que esta dicho, y quarto zabras ligeras con sus remos, armas, artilleria y municiones, cargadas de bastimento, puestas a punto de guerra, y de llevar los dichos quinientos hombres, y la demas gente de mar y guerra, y clerigos y Oficiales, como esta dicho.

Yten: os ofreceis y obligais de tener presto para el dicho tiempo el galeon que teneis nombrado San Pelayo, que es de porte de mas de mas de seiscientos toneles...y el dicho galeon yra su viaje.....a la costa de la Florida, a donde os obligaris de ver y calar de la dicha costa los lugares mejores y mas comodios que os pareciere, costeando por la mar y calando y tentando por la tierra a donde se podra mejor tomar puerto y sitio para poblar.

Yten: os ofrezeis y obligais que con la dicha gente edificareis y poblareis, en los dichos tres anos, dos o tres pueblos en los lugares y partes que mejor os parecere, de cada cien vecinos por lo menos, y que en cada uno de ellos abra una casa grande, de piedra, tapia y madera...con su fosso y puente levadiza, la mas fuerte que segun al tiempo y aparejo se pudiere hacer, para que siendo necessario se puedan en ella recoger los vecinos y ampararse de los peligros que los puedan subceder de yndios, o de cossarios.

o de otra gente.

Otro si: os ofreceis y obligais que metereis dentro del dicho tiempo, en el numero de la dicha gente que os obligais de llevar, diez ó doze Religiosos, por lo menos, de la Orden que os pareciere, personas que sean de buena vida y exemplo, y otros quatro de la Compania de Jesus, para que en la dicha tierra aya doctrina y puedan ser convertidos los yndios a nuestra santa fe catolica y a nuestra obediencia.

Fecha en Madrid a 20 de Marzo de 1565--Yo el Rey--Por Mandado de S.M., Francisco de Erasso. (Taken from Ruidaz y Caravia vol.ii, pp.415-427.

Appendix III (Cited on Page 74) Description by Laudonnière of the Coming Of Menendez to the Mouth of the River May. Taken from Laudonnière, "HISTOIRE DE LA FLORIDE" p.189.

".....le quatriesme september, six grandes navires espagnoles arriverent en la rade, la ou les quatre plus grandes des nostres estoient demeurees, lesquelles mouillerent l'ancre, en assurant nos hommes de bonne amitié, ils demanderent comme se portoient tous les chefs de ceste entreprise, et les nommerent tous par noms et surnoms. Je laisse a penser si avant qu'ils partissent d'Espagne, il ne falloit pas qu'ils eussent este advertis de l'entreprise, et de ceux qui la vouloient et devoient executer.

Chapter V

Appendix I (Cited on Page 77) French Text of Captain Cosette's Note to Ribaut concerning the Coming of Menendez to Florida from Spain; taken from Laudonnière's "HISTOIRE DE LA FLORIDE" pp.192-193.

"Captaine Jean Ribaut, en fermant ceste lettre j'ay eu certain advis, comme dom Pedro Melendes, se part d'Espagne, pour aller a la coste de la Nouvelle France; Vous regarderez de n'endurer qu'il n'entreprene sur nous, non plus qu'veut que nous n'entreprenions sur eux."

Appendix II (Cited on Page 90) Spanish text of Menendez' address to the French refugees on the Florida coast, taken from Ruidaz y Caravia, "LA FLORIDA, SU CONQUISTA Y COLONIZACION." Vol. i, pp.112-113.

"Senores, vuestro fuerte es ganado, la gente del degollada, si no son las mujeres y mozos de 15 anos abaxo, e para que sepias cierto que es asi, entre algunos soldados de los que aqui estan, hay muchas cosas, y hay 2 franceses que yo traje conmigo, que dijeron eran catolicos: sentaos aqui y comeris e yo os invirae los dos franceses e las cosas aquellos soldados han tomado del fuerte, para os satisfagais."

Appendix III (Cited on Page 91) English translation of the Diary of Mendoza-Grajales giving a slightly different account of the massacre of the first refugees on the Florida coast; taken from Shipp. "DE SOTO AND FLORIDA," pp.556-557.

"Immediately the General sent him back to his countrymen, to say they must surrender, and give up their arms, or he would put them all to death. A French gentleman, who was a sergeant, brought back the reply that they would surrender on condition that their lives should be spared."

After having parleyed a long time, our brave Captain General answered that he would make no promises; that they must surrender unconditionally. Finding that they were all Lutherans, he ordered them all to be put to death, but as I was a priest, and had bowels of mercy, I begged him to grant me the favor of sparing those whom we might find to be Christians. He granted it, and I made investigations, and found ten or twelve of the men Roman Catholics, whom we brought back. All the others we executed because they were Lutherans and enemies of our Holy Roman Catholic Faith. All this took place on Saturday (St. Michael's Day) September 29, 1565."

Appendix IV (Cited on Page 95) Selections from the Original Text of the Petition of the Widows and Orphans of those killed at Fort Caroline, to King Charles IX of France for a redress of their grievances, taken from the appendix of Gaffarel's "HISTOIRE DE LA FLORIDE FRANCAISE."

"Resquette Au Roy Faite Par Les Femmes Vefves, Enfans, Orphelins, Parens et Amis de Ses Sujets Ont Este Cruellement Massacrez Par les Hespagnols En la France Antartique, Nommee la Floride-----

"Sire, il y ha une infinité de povres et miserables personnes, femmes vefves et enfans orphelins, tous vos sujets et vaissaux qui se presentent aux pieds de Vostre Maiesté, les larmes aux yeux, avec l'entiere obeissance et naturelle subiection qu'ils vous doivent et portans en leur main, devant Vostre Excellence et Grandeur, un pitoyable discours de leurs justes complaints et doleances ou plustost le triste spectacle ou pourtrait visible de leurs pères, leur maris, leurs enfans, leurs frères, leurs neveux, cousins et alliez, jusques au nombre de huict ou neuf cens hommes que femmes et enfans, quasi tous massacrez et taillez en pieces en la terre

de la Floride par le capitaine Petremclaude (Menendez) et ses soldats Espagnols....Toutefois c'est chose incroyable qu'un Roy ne prince chretien ne payen quelconque, vouloust avouer ledit Petremclaude pour un faict de craute si barbare et qui surpasse la rage et fureur des tygres et lions.Si doncques Petremclaude est desavoue, son maistre n'a que dire qu'il n'en fait ou vous laisse faire la justice, avec satisfaction ou reparation telle qu'a vous appartient, vous remettant et quittant au surplus la jurisdiction et possession de ladite terre de la Floride, que de long temps vous estoit occupee et emparceepar vos subiects.....

Et par ce moyen, serez aime et receu de toute nation non seulement com-me Roy, mais comme pere de vostre peuple."

APPENDIX V (Cited on Page 96) Translation of the letter from Pope Pius V to Pedro Menendez de Aviles, dated August 1, 1569.
Taken from Shipp, "DeSoto and Florida," pp.559-560.

"We deeply rejoice that our much beloved dear son in Christ, Philip II, the most Catholic king, had appointed and honored you by the government of Florida, making you adelantado of the country; for we had received such accounts of your person, and the excellence of your virtues, your worth and dignity were so satisfactorily spoken of, that we believed, without doubt, that you would not only fulfill faithfully and with care and diligence the orders and instructions which had been delivered to you by so Catholic a king, but we also fully trusted that you would, with discretion, do all that was requisite, and see carried forward the extension of our holy Catholic faith, and the gaining of souls to God... Well

Appendices.
(Chapter V cont'd)

understand, most noble man, that I declare to you in the carrying out of these matters, which shall rebound on the one hand to the service of God, and on the other to the increase of the dignity of your king, esteemed of men as well as loved and rewarded by God. Wherefore we give you our paternal and Apostolic benediction."

Appendix I. (Cited on Page 102) Text of the Signs pinned on the Spanish Corpses by De Gourgues. Taken from Bassanier's account of the Expedition in Laudonnière's "Histoire de la Floride," supplement, pp.218-219.

"Mais au lieu de l'escriteau que Pedro Melandes leur avoit donné, portant ces mots en Espagnol 'Je ne fay cecy comme a Francois, mais comme a Lutheriens,' Gourgues fut escrire en une table de sapin avec un fer chaud; 'Je ne fay cecy comme Espagnols, ny comme a Mariniers, mais comme a traistres, volveurs et meurdriers."

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THE HUGUENOTS IN FLORIDA.

Alaman, Lucas, "DISERTACIONES SOBRE LA HISTORIA DE LA REPUBLICA MEGICANA," 3 tomas, Megico, Impr. de J.M.Lara, 1844-1849.

This work is a painstaking and detailed history of Mexico from the earliest times to the forties of the last century. The first two volumes are devoted to historical narrations, while the third is taken up with a compendium of the most important documents relating to Mexican history, especially to the colonial period. To us its importance is not of first rank; it serves merely to throw some light upon the early Spanish voyages of exploration.

Barcia, Carballido y Zuniga, "ENSAYO CRONOLOGICO PARA LA HISTORIA GENERAL DE LA FLORIDA," 1512-1722, Por Gabriel de Cardenas y Cano, Madrid, N.R.Franco, 1723.

As the name implies, this narrative of Florida history is written in a strictly chronological manner. The name, Don Gabriel de Cardenas y Cano, which appears appended to the work, is an anagram for Don Andres Gonzales Barcia de Carballido y Zuniga. For our work the value of this chronological history lies in its treatment of the voyages of discovery to Florida, yet even here there is much to be desired, as Barcia had neither of the patents of Ponce de Leon and no reports. He places the discovery of Florida in 1512 instead of the usually accepted and verified date of 1513. While his accuracy in this and a few other minor details is not all that might be desired, we must continue to regard the "Ensayo Cronologico" as one of the prime sources for our work.

Barcia, Carballido y Zuniga, "HISTORIADORES DE LAS INDIAS," Madrid, 1749.
Bartram, J., "ANTIQUITIES OF FLORIDA," London, 1769.

These two works, "Historiadores de las Indias," by Barcia Carballido y Zuniga, and the "Antiquities of Florida" by John Bartram, are useful only for background. The first concerns itself with a discussion of those who have written upon the Indies and their works, while the latter gives a detailed description of the vegetation and ancient Indian mounds of Florida. The Bartrams, father and son, made an extensive tour of the peninsula just

after it came under the sway of England in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Their observations and opinions are important.

Bolton, H. E., "THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS," New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921.

This is an extremely well written account of the Spanish explorations and settlements in Florida, the southwest and California. Of course we can consider it only as a secondary source. Its value lies mainly in the general perspective which it gives us of the whole period.

Brinton, D. G., "NOTES ON THE FLORIDA PENINSULA," Philadelphia, J. Sabin & Co. 1859.

D. G. Brinton has produced a scholarly gem. The scope of the work is limited mainly to a detailed and thoroughly documented discussion of the ancient Indian tribes and languages of Florida. Brinton himself was an authority on the languages of the southern Indians, and throughout his work there is evidenced the painstaking accuracy of the thorough scholar. Though this work was written in the middle of the last century, it still remains a primary source of the first rank. I consider it invaluable for the first chapter of this thesis.

Brown, George M., "PONCE DE LEON LAND AND FLORIDA WAR RECORD," Edition 6, St. Augustine, Fla., 1908.

This is a secondary work, valuable for perspective, bibliography and confirmation of more important dates in the early history of Florida. Most of the work is devoted to a narration of the Seminole War which, of course, does not concern us here.

Catholic World, The, Volume XXI, P.701-705.

"DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUES, THE AVENGER OF THE HUGUENOTS IN FLORIDA."

To my mind this article is a rambling, loosely written and rather biased account of the French revenge upon the Spanish in the person of De Gourgues. Its importance lies in its confirmation of a few dates and giving us a survey of DeGourgues' career previous to his Florida voyage. The name of the author is not given.

Charlevoix, Pierre Francois Xavier de,
"HISTOIRE ET DESCRIPTION GENERALE DE LA NOUVELLE
FRANCE," Paris, Noyon Fils, 1744. 3 Volumes.

This history by Charlevoix is too well known to need an introduction. We have used it throughout in compiling this thesis, and consider it of prime importance. Charlevoix was very careful in his consultation of sources, and the work is accepted among scholars as an authoritative and detailed survey of French colonial enterprise.

"COLLECCION DE DOCUMENTOS INEDITOS PARA LA HISTORIA DE LAS INDIAS,"
Madrid, 1864-1884.

We come now to a work which is a veritable gold mine of historic information in the field of the Spanish colonies. This was published at Madrid between 1864 and 1884. It contains many documents of Spanish history which have heretofore not come to light, and is indispensable to any work dealing with the activities of the Spaniards in the New World.

Delaborde, Jules, "GASPARD DE COLIGNY, AMIRAL DE FRANCE," (Paris, G. Fishbacher, 1879-1882).

In considering the great Huguenot leader, Gaspard DeColigny, we have found the work of Jules Delaborde of great assistance. Delaborde appends to his book a complete bibliography for a more detailed study of the great leader. His footnotes are copiously distributed throughout the three volumes, and we may as well admit that without it our task in regard to DeColigny and the part he played would have been much more difficult than was actually the case.

Escalante Fontaneda, Hernando de.
"THE COUNTRY AND ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES OF FLORIDA,"
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This work is valuable to us only in checking over the names of the various Indian tribes encountered in Florida and verifying the movements of DeSoto. Fontaneda is said to have accompanied DeSoto. Thus his work is vested with some authenticity.

Fairbanks, G.R., "THE SPANIARDS IN FLORIDA," Jacksonville, C. Drew, 1868.
"FLORIDA, ITS HISTORY AND ROMANCE," Jacksonville, H. & W. B. Drew Company, 1898.

These two books are only of a secondary importance. We have used them only for the purpose of background and verification of certain dates.

Force, Peter, "TRACTS AND OTHER PAPERS," Vol.IV, Washington,
W.Q.Force, 1836-1846.

I regard Force as one of the primary sources for a discussion of early Florida. The work is a compilation of scattered tracts on a variety of subjects pertinent to colonial history. They cover the English colonies as well as the Spanish, and many of them were written by persons who had some contact with the events detailed. I have used the account of DeSoto's expedition which has proved quite helpful in the writing of this thesis.

French, Benjamin Franklin,
"HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF LOUISIANA AND FLORIDA,"
2nd series, New York, A. Mason, 1875.

B. F. French was a member of the Louisiana State Historical Society, and has contributed a vast and detailed collection of historical narratives covering the colonial period of both Louisiana and Florida. We have quoted him extensively in this work, especially as an authority for the early voyages of the Spaniards to Florida, as well as for some of the phases of Huguenot settlements. As many of his narratives are translations from the Spanish or French documents pertaining to the subject, his work can rightly be regarded as a primary source.

Gaffarel, Paul Louis Jacques,
"HISTOIRE DE LA FLORIDE FRANCAISE," Paris, Firmin-Didot
et Cte., 1875.

Gaffarel's work, while not in itself an original documentary source, is nevertheless based upon some of the best available documentary authorities for the period of the French settlement in Florida. Besides its thorough annotations and historical accuracy, this work is valuable to us because it contains in full a reprint of certain of the documents concerning the French settlement, the petition to the King of France by the relatives of those killed at Fort Caroline, also a complete account of the expedition of Dominique DeGourgues to Florida in 1567.

Gourgues, Dominique de,
"LA REPRINSE DE LA FLORIDE" in French, B.F., "Historical
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"THE EXPEDITION OF DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUES TO FLORIDA,"
1567," in Shipp, p.562-583.

These two versions of DeGourgues' account vary to some extent in the text. The first version in French exists in several manuscript texts, one in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, and another in the Chateau

De Vayres . It is not known whether DeGourgues is actually the author of this account or not. It is probable that he may be, although there is no definite proof for this contention. The account by Shipp is somewhat of an abridgement or a partial translation of that contained in the Bassanier edition of Laudonnière's "Histoire de la Floride." This latter was probably written by Bassanier himself from accounts which are not known at the present time, or else from hearsay. Both must be considered as primary sources, and we have made as much use as was necessary of them.

Haag, Eugene, "LA FRANCE PROTESTANTE" (Sous la Direction de M. Henri Bordier, Paris, 1877-1888) 6 Vol.

To us this work is of little value. It is mainly a biography of the prominent French Protestants of the last three centuries. Its value lies solely in its biographical treatment of DeColigny.

Hakluyt, Richard, "DIVERS VOYAGES," Imprinted at London for Thomas Woodcocke. dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signs of the blacke beare, 1582.

The work of Hakluyt is extremely rare in this country, only a few copies, other than that at the Newberry Library, being in existence. It is, of course, a primary source, and is valuable to us in our examination into the voyages of the Spaniards to Florida and the description of the country. This work is said to have influenced Queen Elizabeth toward considering the possibility of an English colony in Florida.

Irving, Theodore, "THE CONQUEST OF FLORIDA," London, E. Churton, 1835.

This work is mainly of a secondary nature, and could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be considered a primary source. It has been used mainly to verify dates and place names in the discussion of the voyages of exploration to Florida.

Las Casas, Bartolomeo,

"DESTRUCCION DE LAS INDIAS DE LAS PROVINCIAS DE LA TIERRA FIRME QUE SE LLAMA LA FLORIDA," London, Reprinted by Schulze & Dean, 1812.

This is one of the works of the great Dominican bishop who is known to history as the Champion of the Indians. He describes in the most horribly graphic manner the cruelties inflicted by the early Spanish explorers on the Indians in Florida. This is, of course, a primary source, and has been employed mainly in connection with accounts of the expedition

and martyrdom of Father Luis Cancer y Barbastro in Florida, as detailed in Chapter I.

Laudonnière, Rene Goulaine de,

"L'HISTOIRE NOTABLE DE LA FLORIDE," Edited by M. Bassanier, Paris, P. Jannet, 1853.

I consider this work of Laudonnière to be the most important of all my primary sources. I have quoted it from first to last throughout the thesis. Laudonnière gives us a clear comprehension, first of all, of Florida in its natural state; secondly, of the French colony at Port Royal and its dissensions; and, thirdly, of the French colony at Fort Caroline and its ultimate extinction by the Spaniards. Since Laudonnière took part in most of what he narrates himself, his narrative is of inestimable value. Monsier Bassanier has appended to this a discussion of the DeGourgues episode of revenge.

Lavisse, Ernest, and Rambaud, Alfred,

"HISTOIRE GENERALE," 12 Vols, Paris, 1893-1905.

The value of this work to us is of purely a secondary nature. I have called upon it in order to obtain a thorough comprehension of the policies and character of Philip II, as well as an adequate understanding of affairs in France in the period of the Huguenot colonization. Outside of these usages, the work, though of an eminently scholarly nature, is of no great value in this paper.

LeChalleux, Nicolas, "DUXIEME VOYAGE DU DIEPPOIS JEAN RIBAUT A LA FLORIDE EN 1565. Rouen, H. Boissel, 1872.

LeChalleux was a carpenter who accompanied Jean Ribaut to Florida and witnessed the fate of the colony, being fortunate enough to escape the Spaniards and return to France. His narrative is rightly considered a primary source; and, while colored with much anti-Spanish and not a little anti-Catholic feeling, I have found it indispensable.

LaMoynes De Morgues, Jacques.

"NARRATIVE OF THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO FLORIDA UNDER LAUDONNIERE," Boston, J.R. Osgood & Co., 1875.

LaMoynes deMorgues was an artist who accompanied the expedition of Laudonniere to France for the purpose of illustrating the country and drawing pictures of the inhabitants, so that those back home would have a clearer concept of what Florida really was. Besides his graphic and enlightening

sketches, he gives us a very detailed account of the trials and tribulations of the French, their extermination by the Spaniards and the escape of the survivors. The first publication of this work was made by DeBry, the English historian, in 1591. The present publication is not a translation of the Latin of DeBry, but a translation of the French of LeMoyne. While a trifle inaccurate concerning the last massacre of the French, the work must be considered a primary source.

Mendoza Grajales, Francisco Lopez de,

"THE VOYAGE OF PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES, 1565,"
in Shipp, page 544-561.

"THE FOUNDING OF ST. AUGUSTINE," in Shipp, p. 544-561.

Father Grajales was the Franciscan chaplain of the expedition. His descriptions of the setting out of the caravels and the crossing of the Atlantic, with the arrival in the New World, are contained in the first account cited above. The second account, "The Founding of St. Augustine," discusses Menendez' dealings with the French, describes the settlement of the Spanish, and comments upon the massacre. We have used Grajales' accounts very frequently, and have found them to be accurate as to date and details when compared with other narratives. This is by all means a primary source, and of great value. The two products of Grajales are to be found in English translation in Shipp's "DeSoto and Florida," which we shall discuss in its proper place.

Navarez, Pamphilo de, "PROCLAMATION OF PANFILO DE NAVAREZ" in B.F. French,
Vol. 17, Historical Collection of Louisiana and Florida.

This is merely a short document, and was consulted mainly to see what Navaraz' intentions were towards the Indians on his expedition, and to ascertain what he stated to be the real purpose of his expedition. While it is undoubtedly a primary source to a certain extent, yet I have not seen fit to include the information obtained from it in this thesis.

Parkman, Francis, "PIONEERS OF FRANCE IN THE NEW WORLD, Boston, Little,
Brown & Co., 1886.

Parkman's book deals, of course, with all the French explorers both in Florida and in Canada. To us, its value is slight. It is a secondary source; and while documented and drawn from the best available material, is nevertheless useful to us only as a background.

Ranson, Robert, "CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF FLORIDA," (Manuscript Copy)

Mr. Robert Ranson is a resident of St. Augustine, Fla., a member of the Florida State Historical Society, and author of a Chronological History of Florida which is about to be published. The writer was happy to have conferred with him in September, 1933, at his home in St. Augustine, and received from him valuable background in the manuscript which Mr. Ranson was kind enough to loan. The work is drawn from the primary sources, and has served well in giving a comprehensive survey of the events of the period in their proper chronological position.

"RELACAM VERDADEIRA, 'NARRATIVES OF THE CAREER OF HERNANDO DE SOTO IN THE CONQUEST OF FLORIDA,'" translated by Buckingham Smith, New York, 1866, in Bradford Club Series No.5.

This primary source of DeSoto's expedition concerns itself mainly with the progress of the march, the places visited and passed through, and the events which took place therein. We have used it to a limited extent, but since the body of the thesis is not concerned with the Spanish exploration, we have not been able to make the fullest possible call upon this work.

Ribaut, Jean de, "NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST VOYAGE OF JEAN DE RIBAUT," in B.F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, 2nd series, New York, A. Mason, 1875.

We have made quite frequent use of this work, and it is regarded as a primary source. The original French version has never been found, and the best modern English version is that in French's "Historical Collections."

Ruidaz y Caravia, Eugenio, "LA FLORIDA SU CONQUISTA Y COLONIZACION," Madrid, Imp. de los hijos de J.A. Garcia, 1893.

This is a two volume work, and of an eminently scholarly nature. The first volume is devoted to historical narratives of the first century of Spanish rule in Florida, while the second volume is concerned entirely with a reproduction of documents and patents relative to the events narrated in the first volume. We have used the second volume extensively because of its reproduction of source material. We have found it of a special value in Appendix IV where we have cited many of the Spanish documents which could not be procured were it not for the reproduction by Ruidaz.

Shea, John G., "ANCIENT FLORIDA" in Justin Winsor's "Narrative & Critical History of America," Boston and New York, 1884-1889, Vol. 2, (1886) p.23-298.

Shea is one of the foremost American Catholic historians of the nineteenth century. His work on "Ancient Florida" was invaluable to us for two reasons; first, it gave us a summary of the minor expeditions which we have narrated in Chapter I, and which it would have been very difficult for us to find elsewhere; secondly, it gave us an intelligent bibliographical survey which was invaluable in finding many of the primary sources.

Shipp, Barnard, "THE HISTORY OF HERNANDO DE SOTO AND FLORIDA," Philadelphia, Collins,Printer, 1881.

This book is a thick tome containing in translation many important primary sources. Shipp himself has written much of the first part of the work which concerns itself with a discussion of DeSoto's expedition. Appended to this section of the work is also his translation of "The Country and Ancient Indian Tribes of Florida" originally written in Spanish by Fontaneda. Then there follows an extremely detailed discussion of Cabeza De Baca's expedition, as well as the expedition of Verazzani and several minor Spanish expeditions. It contains also the narrative of the first voyage of Jean Ribaut to Florida and the accounts of Mendoza Grajales, as well as an account of the expedition of Dominique DeGourgues to Florida. Shipp's work is of a high scholarly quality, his own observations are usually carefully made, and his translations of such important narratives as we have enumerated make his work in reality a primary source.

Smith, Buckingham, "RELATION OF ALVAR NUNEZ CABEZA DE VACA," Washington, 1851.
"RELACAM VERDADERIA."
"LETTERS OF DESOTO," New York, 1866.

Smith's book, like that of Shipp, is a rather large volume and valuable for its translation work. The first article of interest to us, that concerning Cabeza DeVaca, we have used to a slight extent in the first chapter. The famous "Relacam Verdadeira" we have mentioned in connection with the Bradford Club Series. It is supposed to have been written by a gentleman of Elvas, in Portugal, who accompanied DeSoto. It was translated from the Portuguese into English by Smith. We have discussed its value under its own title. "THE LETTERS OF DESOTO" are valuable for the purpose of background, but we have not seen fit to incorporate them into the body or the Appendix of this work.

Soto, Hernando de, "LETTER AND MEMOIR OF HERNANDO DE ESCALANTE FONTANEDA," translated by B. Smith, Washington, Private Printing, 1854.

We have used this letter to verify the identification of the place names and tribal names which we have encountered in our researches into the background of the sixteenth century Florida. Otherwise, though this is a primary source, the narrative is of no value to us.

Soto, Hernando de, "DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF TERRA FLORIDA," written by a gentleman of Elvas (Relacam Verdadeira).

This is merely another translation of the "Relacam Verdadeira" which exists in the Newberry Library. We have discussed this work previously. This copy is of value for the purpose of verification.

Ternaux-Compans, Henri,
"RECEUIL DES PIECES SUR LA FLORIDE," Paris, A. Bertrand,
1841.

We have here a collection of letters and documents concerning the French colony in Florida. We have used this work mainly in connection with the second Huguenot settlement, and have found the letters which it produces an invaluable assistance in obtaining precise data upon the voyage to the New World and certain of the events prior to the massacre.

Thompson, James Westfall,
"THE WARS OF RELIGION IN FRANCE," Chicago, The University
of Chicago Press, 1909.

James Westfall Thompson has produced an extremely painstaking and minute, though comprehensive, survey of the period of the religious wars in France. This book, as far as we know, is one of the best survey treatments of its subject to be found in English. Thompson has drawn almost entirely upon primary documentary sources. We have used it mainly in connection with Chapter II for the purpose of obtaining a comprehensive background for our discussion of conditions in sixteenth century France.

Touron, Antoine, and Charlevoix, P.F.
"LIFE OF BARTHOLEMEW DE LAS CASAS," New York,
P.O'Shea, 1871.

This "Life of Las Casas" is a translation made by an anonymous Dominican of New York City. It is not of prime value to us, and any quotations from it throughout the thesis would really be of an extraneous nature. We have used it in order to obtain some inkling as to the position and

Vega, Garcilaso de la,
"HISTORIA DE LA FLORIDA," Madrid, 1803, 4 Vols.

De la Vega's work is very well known to students of Latin American history. He was a Peruvian Inca, and was educated by the Spaniards at Lima. Later he traveled to Spain where he sojourned for some years. His work, while considered accurate in many points, contains a number of over statements and exaggerations. Shipp publishes a condensed English version of it, which we have found to be more useful than the original Spanish version which is extremely detailed and written in a style not easy for those acquainted with modern Spanish to understand. His value lies mainly in his discussion of the expedition of DeSoto, and also of his verification of the earlier and later Spanish expeditions to the peninsula of Florida. Although a primary source, I do not consider it the best.

Vandera, Juan de la, "MEMORIAL DE JOAN DE LA VANDERA," Original in archives of Simocas. In B. F. French's "Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida," 2nd series, New York, pp.289-292.

The "Memorial De Joan De La Vandera" was consulted in a cursory manner. It deals mainly with some of the activities of the Spaniards between the time of the last massacre of the French settlers and the coming of DeGourgues. It is a primary source, but rather vague in some of its details, and not altogether pertinent to the main body of this work.

The thesis "The Huguenot Settlements in Florida, 1562-1565," written by Thomas Edward Downey, has been accepted by the Graduate School of Loyola University, with reference to form, and by the readers whose names appear below, with reference to content. It is, therefore, accepted as a partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts.

Rev. Joseph J. Roubik, S.J.

May, 1934

Paul Kiniery, Ph.D.

May, 1934